

GAZETTE DES BEAUX-ARTS

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ANCIENT REPRESENTATIONS OF HERAKLES AS A BABY

THE hero Herakles was a favorite in art and in story throughout the millennium which we call Classical Antiquity. Even today Herakles (or Hercules, as the Romans called him) is known universally, even where the muses and the Olympian gods are ignored. He is the darling of the contemporary advertising man. This popularity is easily understandable, for manly strength has universal appeal. A secondary appeal exists in Herakles' suitability as a subject for humor as well as pathos, and so Herakles, a tragicomic figure equalled by Sam-



FIG. 1. — Baby Herakles Strangling Snakes, Hellenistic or Roman bronze statuette. — Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md.

shrank in terror when he saw the snakes, and the parents, Amphytrion and Alkmene, acted no more constructively; but Herakles, the wonder baby, seized the serpents, one in each hand, and strangled them.

The scene has been frequently represented in art. It served as a coin type of Thebes, where the incident occurred. Several wall paintings of Roman date depict the scene, and they presumably mirror older Greek paintings.¹ A well known rendition in plastic form ornaments the top of a lamp in the British Museum. It is a boat-shaped Roman bronze lamp, silver plated, found in Switzerland.² Reclining on the top, or, perhaps we should say on the deck, is a baby with his feet turned toward the bow, struggling with two writhing snakes, each squeezed by the throat in a minute Heraklean hand. A statuette previously unknown which is almost certainly to be interpreted in the same way, is the small bronze which we reproduce (Fig. 1).³ A

1. S. REINACH, *Répertoire de Peintures Grecques et Romaines*, Paris, 1922, p. 186 (three examples).

2. H. B. WALTERS, *Catalogue of the Silver Plate—in the British Museum*, London, 1921, p. 30, No. 115, pl. XV.

3. Walters Art Gallery, No. 54.1114. Purchased, 1928, from a dealer in Egypt, and certified as "From Alexandria." Ht. 1 7/8 inches (.048m.) Dull red and crystalline green patina. Pupils of eyes indicated by dots.

son alone in all folk lore, storms his way down the centuries, with his deeds of strength becoming ever more numerous and more fantastic.

His phenomenal activity as a baby is a phase of his career which we will relate here, illustrating his exploits from some works of art of Greek and Roman days. Scanty as are these bits of evidence, they yet suggest that large artistic and literary cycles once existed.

The story goes that Hera, the goddess who was always to pursue Herakles with malignant hatred, began by sending two serpents to kill him while he was still a small child. Iphikles, Herakles' half-brother, who lacked exceptional qualities of strength and courage,

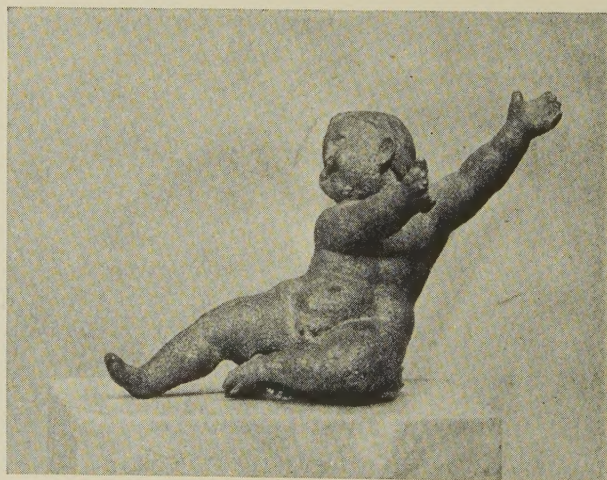


FIG. 2. — Iphikles, Brother of Herakles, Terrified by Snakes, Hellenistic or Roman bronze statuette. — Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md.



FIG. 3. — Baby Herakles Wearing Boxing Gloves, Hellenistic bronze statuette. — Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md. (Front View).



FIG. 4. — Baby Herakles Wearing Boxing Gloves, Hellenistic bronze statuette. — Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md. (Back View).

curly-haired baby is seated on the ground, with his hands violently employed. The left hand is broken off, and the object grasped in the right is damaged. It is round in cross section, and does not pass straight through the hand, as it would if it were a stiff object. Probably, then, it is a twisting snake being strangled in the naked hand of baby Herakles.

Rather dubious is the identification of another little bronze (Fig. 2) as Iphikles, the untalented and all too mortal half-brother of Herakles.⁴ The gesture

4. Walters Art Gallery, No. 54.1110. Ht., to top of head, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches (.039 m.). Marked as *Iphikles*, from the Gréau Collection, and found in Rome. The Gréau Sale Catalogue (Paris, 1885) had two bronzes, either of which this may be. No. 1048, called *A Child of Medea*, is of the right size if one includes the base. The base is of yellow marble, as No. 1048 in the Gréau Catalogue. Gréau Catalogue No. 957 is called *A Baby Iphikles*, and is of the correct size, excluding the base.

of the outflung arms may reasonably be interpreted as a sign of fear, and this and several other statuettes of babies in such a pose have been called Iphikles.⁵ However, there are many stories from ancient times dealing with children who had good grounds for terror, among them Herakles' own children, when they were about to be murdered by their mother, Medea. It is therefore with some reservations that we suggest the identification of this bronze with Iphikles on the night of the serpents' visit.

Pindar was the first Classical author to tell the story of the battle with the snakes. He related it of new born infants. A fuller and more pleasing account was given by Theocritus, the pastoral poet of the Hellenistic age, in his *Idyll XXIV*, devoted entirely to the youth of Herakles. It is Theocritus who gives us a clue to the identification of another piece. Following the snake episode, which he tells in a charming way with much household business and human interest, and which he attaches to sizable infants, Theocritus gives a brief account of the education of the hero. He learned his letters, studied music from Linos and learned wrestling and boxing ("all the wiles of boxers skilled with the gloves," to quote Andrew Lang's translation) under Harpalkos of Phanes, a son of Hermes.

This account of Herakles' schooling seems to correspond to a statuette, also in the Walters Art Gallery (Figs. 3 and 4).⁶ This bronze is in poor condition, with its entire surface corroded and covered with lumps, obscuring the details of modeling. Nevertheless, one distinguishes a small child of remarkably stocky proportions and with some unusual appendages on his hands, standing at ease with a rather truculent manner. There is a band about his curls. The size of his shoulders is inconceivable for an ordinary infant.

Upon close inspection, the objects upon hands and wrists turn out to be boxing gloves. Similar gloves, taken from a well preserved statuette of a mature man,

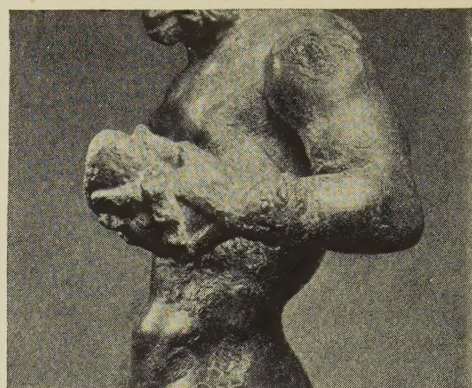


FIG. 5B. — Boxing Glove (hand holds sponge), Hellenistic bronze statuette. — Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md. (Detail).

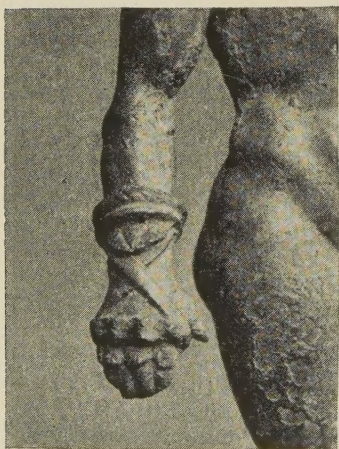


FIG. 5A. — Boxing Glove, Hellenistic bronze statuette. — Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md. (Detail).

5. J. BABELON, *Choix de Bronzes et de Terres Cuites des Collections Oppermann et de Janzé* (*Les Trésors du Cabinet des Antiques*), Paris and Brussels, 1929, p. 22, No. 8, pl. VII.

6. Walters Art Gallery, No. 54.1001. Ht. $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches (.108 m.). The base is ancient but does not belong. Formerly Warneck Collection, *Sale Catalogue* (1905), No. 152. Also published in: *Le Musée*, II (1905), p. 131, fig. 6. Drawing in: S. REINACH, *Répertoire de la Statuaire Grecque et Romaine*, IV, 268, 7; the gloves have been omitted.

are shown here (Figs. 5A and 5B). Unlike our boxing gloves, these ancient ones were aimed at making the sport as dangerous as possible. In actuality, the gloves would be of leather, and consist of a gauntlet, wool padded, to strengthen the wrist, a heavy mass of leather as hard as the soles of our shoes projecting from the knuckles, so that every blow would do the maximum damage to the opponent, and an elaborate system of thongs to hold the other two parts in position.⁷

The gloves on our small corroded bronze statuette are the same. The wearing of the gloves is sufficient evidence to mark the baby as a precociously dangerous human being, almost certainly the young Herakles who studied boxing with semi-divine Harpalkos.

The statuary type occurs on a series of Roman terra-cotta reliefs of about the time of Christ.⁸ These reproduce with startling fidelity the colonnades within the palestra, the garlands hanging between two columns, and the various basins, small herms, and the statues which stood under the colonnade. That they are statues, not people, is certain, because they invariably have bases; that the statues are bronze is prob-



FIG. 6. — Baby Herakles Striding with Club, Hellenistic or Roman bronze statuette. — Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md. (Front View).

7. Gloves of this type are not known from the earliest Greek periods, but they were used as early as the IV Century B.C. The best known example is on the large bronze statue of a boxer in the Terme Museum in Rome. See: E. N. GARDINER, *Athletics of the Ancient World*, pp. 199 ff, "the sharp thongs."

8. "Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes in Wien," VI (1903), pp. 16-31, pls. II, III; ROHDEN, *Architektonische römische Tonreliefs (Die antiken Terrakotten, herausgegeben von KEKULÉ VON STRADONITZ, vol. IV)*, text, pp. 144 ff, pls. CXLII, CXLIII; "Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts," (Boston), XLV, p. 63, fig. 2.

able, because there are no struts or pillars such as are necessary to support marble statues.

The subjects of these statues in the palestra are of two types, and two only: statues of athletes, usually with the emblems of victory, and statues of Herakles, who, because of his magnificent physique, could be an inspiration to the aspiring athlete. The athlete in a pose like the one mentioned before (Figs. 3 and 4), and wearing boxing gloves, occurs several times. One relief has a pair of tall, bearded figures, one in this pose, the other with the position of legs and head reversed, so that the two face each other. And in one case, the statue is a very youthful figure indeed standing in the usual pose, wearing the boxing gloves, and holding an upright palm branch.

This set of reliefs proves that in the Augustan age there were many bronze statues of this boxing type; our little bronze is a facetious imitation of them. The reliefs, however, give no hint that the pose was used for Herakles. Our identification of the baby boxer as Herakles must depend upon his apparent excessive weight and strength.

Other examples of Herakles as a student do not readily come to hand. A possible candidate is a small marble statue in the Hermitage, known only from publications so inadequate that one cannot judge to what extent it was restored.⁹ Here an extremely fat baby is resting with his left arm supported by a large lyre. The attitude resembles the famous type of the mature Herakles leaning on his staff. If the lyre is original, the statue may represent young Herakles, tired from his music lesson with Linos. In general, parallels for the education of Herakles are very scarce, but it remains probable that our little bronze represents him at his boxing lesson.

Well trained though he was, Herakles seldom defended himself with his fists. His favorite weapon was a club which, according to most authorities, he cut as he went to fight the famous lion of Nemea. Theocritus has Herakles tell the story in his *Idyll* XXV, the second Theocritan poem to deal with Herakles. According to other of the ancient writers, the club was of bronze, made in imitation of a wooden club by Hephaistos, smith to the gods. In either case it was a man's weapon.

Yet a bronze statuette of a child (Figs. 6 and 7) of about the same age as the youthful boxer, carries the club which is the distinguishing attribute of Herakles.¹⁰ Club and figure were cast in one piece, so there can be no question of their not belonging together. A further mark of identification is the headband of twisted rope. This twisted headband has, as far as we know, no special meaning, but its use was restricted by custom to Herakles and a very few of the gods. Finally, the

9. REINACH, *Répertoire de la Statuaire*, III, 128, 2.

10. Walters Art Gallery, No. 54.1002. Ht. $4\frac{7}{8}$ inches (.123 m.). Dark red surface, with patches of green.

arrangement of short curls on the forehead is one which artists of the Hellenistic age habitually used for representations of Herakles as a youth. Therefore we can be quite sure that the baby is Herakles.

But what is he doing? Despite his chubbiness, he appears most strenuously employed. He is striding vigorously to his left and his right hand is in the position for pulling hard against some resistant force. The club is held in the left hand and it is merely resting on the left shoulder; there is no indication that Herakles intends to use it. All the action is centered on the right hand; even the head turns back toward it. The hand is in the correct position for pulling a cord to lead some animal, and the whole action of the body is explainable in this way. Conceivably some episode of Herakles' mature career, such as his stealing three-headed Cerberus from the house of Hades, has been transferred to him as a baby. Such a transfer is quite in keeping with ancient thought practices, but there is not much evidence for it in actuality. Of several representations of young Herakles holding the apples of the Hesperides, one probably has the apples original and unrestored.¹¹ Herakles' long journey to the Far West has in this case been assigned to his babyhood.



FIG. 7. — Baby Herakles Striding with Club, Hellenistic or Roman bronze statuette. — Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md. (Back View).

11. H. STUART JONES, *British School at Rome, Catalogue, Sculpture—the Palazzo dei Conservatori*, pl. 53; S. REINACH, *Répertoire de la Statuaire*, II, 230, 1; "Bull. Comm.," 1872-1873, pl. 2; HELBIG, *Führer*, p. 578; *Collection of Antiquities in Rome*, I, p. 434, No. 583.

There is also a stone statue, of which only a bad sketch has been available to me, of a headless child wrestling with a lion, while a club rests in the background; the proportions of the figure are not infantile, but they seem to be those of a child.¹² There was, then, at least one representation of Herakles performing his famous deed of valor against the Nemean lion while still a mere child, and so our bronze may well have represented the child at another labor.

More familiar, because more common, than any of our figures is the type of a baby Herakles wearing the lion's skin and carrying his club, but completely inactive, interested only in making a belligerent impression. The figures which we have discussed here surpass this group in importance, for they show young Herakles at his most active.

The infant who holds the snakes, and the one which we have doubtfully identified as brother Iphikles, belong to a well known cycle and have numerous artistic and literary parallels. The other two suggest cycles heretofore unrecognized. The little boxer illustrates a phase in the hero's education, a phase known in literature but rarely represented in art, and the striding figure with the club may be the basis for the eventual recognition of an artistic series of Herakles performing astonishing labors—even his own famous twelve labors—while still an infant.¹³

DOROTHY KENT HILL.



12. S. REINACH, *Répertoire de la Statuaire*, II, 797, 2.

13. Mention should deservedly be made here of a beautiful large bronze of a baby in the City Art Museum of Saint Louis. Formerly called *A Young Dionysos*, it is now with more probability identified as *Infant Herakles*. Unfortunately, the arms and hands are gone. See: *Handbook of the City Art Museum*, 1944, p. 15; *Small Bronzes*, *Detroit Institute of Arts, Exhibition Catalogue*, 1947, p. 43; "Gazette des Beaux-Arts," 1927, II, p. 301.



THE ALTARPIECE OF ELŻBIETA LOKIETKÓWNA

THIS altarpiece with its center panel representing the *Virgin Enthroned with the Infant Christ Blessing two Donors* (Fig. 1), and its side panels representing *St. Elizabeth of Hungary*, at the right (Fig. 3), and *St. Dominic* (Fig. 2), at the left, is not unknown to art historians. The painting was acquired by Mr. Samuel H. Kress from Mr. Philip Lehman in New York. Before it had been in the Dormer Fawcus Collection, Quinto al Mare, Liguria, Italy, who had bought it from a dealer in Siena. G. de Nicola was the first to attribute this work to the Sienese painter, Lippo Vanni (active 1341-1375)¹; B. Berenson² and R. Lehman,³ L. Venturi⁴ and G. H. Edgell⁵ followed.

During a more recent study of this altarpiece, which is now on exhibition in the Kress Collection at the National Gallery, Washington, D. C., I was struck by the fact that the female donor wears a crown, thus being characterized undoubtedly as a Queen. The only kingdom in Italy in the XIV Century was Naples. Knowing that at that time Naples was ruled by the French Dynasty of the Anjou, Mr. Stephen Pichetto observed that both the long coat and the cap of the young prince, are made of a brocaded material with the design of lilies (*fleurs de lis*) — the heraldic emblem of the Royal House of France. This gave decisive support to my establishing the identity of the altarpiece and the persons represented.

As the Queen is protected and introduced to the Virgin by *Santa Elisabetta*

1. F. MASON PERKINS e G. DE NICOLA, *Alcuni Dipinti di Lippo Vanni*, in: "Rassegna d'Arte Senese," VI, 1910.—First reconstruction of the artistic personality of Lippo Vanni. The attribution of our triptych has been given later, verbally, by G. DE NICOLA, as stated by B. BERENSON.

2. B. BERENSON, *Un Antiphonaire avec Miniatures par Lippo Vanni*, "Gazette des Beaux-Arts," 1924; *Italian Painters*, Oxford, 1932; *Pittura Italiana*, Milano, 1936; *Studies in Medieval Painting*, 1930.

3. *Catalogue of the Philip Lehman Collection*, by ROBERT LEHMAN, No. XXXII, 1928.

4. L. VENTURI, *Pittura Italiana in America*, 1930, pl. 80; *Italian Paintings in America*, I, 1933, pl. 99.

5. G. H. EDGELL, *A History of Sienese Painting*, New York, 1932, p. 153, ill. 185.

Filia Reg (Is Hungariae) — this is the inscription in the halo — her name was undoubtedly Elizabeth.

On these elementary facts, introduced by the artist, the history of this altarpiece can be reconstructed. During the XIV Century, there was no Queen of Naples by the name Elizabeth. But, in 1343, Elzbieta Lokietkówna, Queen of Hungary, visited Naples, where she remained from spring until fall.

Elzbieta Lokietkówna is one of the outstanding personalities in the European history of her time. Polish historians⁶ call her one of the most interesting Polish women. Born in 1305, the daughter of Wladislaw, called Lokietek,⁷ King of Poland of the Piast Dynasty, Elzbieta received an excellent education from the nuns of the Order of Sta. Clara, and was well versed in Latin. In 1320, she became the third wife of Charles of Anjou, King of Hungary, to whom she gave five sons — two dying in their childhood. The third was to become Ludwig the Great, King of Hungary and Poland (1326-1382), the fourth was Andreas (1327-1345), the fifth was Stephen (1332-1354). King Charles died in 1342, but even before his death Elzbieta had been crowned as "King" (not Queen) of Hungary, according to the Constitution. She had her own Chancellor and court, even a separate treasury, and as a whole held a very high position. Hers was a very gay court as she was extremely fond of music, singing and dancing.

The Queen's consummate statesmanship secured for her son the right of succession in Poland after her brother, Kasimir the Great, died in 1370. From this time forward the inscription on her own seal is worded "*S[igillum] Elisabeth Dei Gratia Regine Senioris Polonie.*" This text is unique in history because she never was crowned Queen of Poland, and her son, the King, was alive and of age. Her energy and political talent were universally admired. Until her death she remained the closest advisor to her son, Ludwig the Great, who in a letter addressed her as "my dearest and most clever Mother." Elzbieta is called "*Virili animo fulcita*" in a contemporary chronicle.

In order to understand the origin of the altarpiece we should recall the history of the Anjou family. Charles I, King of Naples, 1266-1285, who had overthrown the Hohenstaufen Dynasty, left the reign to his son Charles II the Lamé (1285-1309), who was married to Maria, the daughter and heiress of Stephen King of Hungary. In fact, their older son, Charles Martel, became King of Hungary after Stephen's death, and was followed by his son, Carobert (Charles Robert) who rightfully should also have been the successor of his Grandfather Charles the

6. *Polska Akademia Umiejetnosci*, Tom VI/3 Zeszyt 28; *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, Ebenberger Adam, *Erlichshausen Ludwik*, Kraków, 1947, pp. 242-246; Jan Dabrowski — *Elzbieta Lokietkówna (1305-1380)* I want to express my gratitude to DR. ALFRED BERLSTEIN, Slavonic Department of the Public Library, New York, who had the courtesy to translate the Polish texts containing the details of the biography of the Queen.

7. About this surname, Lokietek, DR. M. LUFT was kind enough to give me the following information: "*Lokiet*" means yard. King Wladislaw was short of stature. History also knows of a Franconian King Pepin the Short, Pepin le Bref, the father of Charlemagne.



FIG. 1. — LIPPO VANNI. — Altarpiece of Elzbieta Lokietkowna. — Kress Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C. (Center wing).



FIG. 2. — LIPPO VANNI. — Altarpiece of Elzbieta Lokietkowna. — Kress Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C. (Left wing).

Lame in Naples, had not his Uncle, Robert, managed to deprive him of his heritage by obtaining for himself the coronation as King of Naples from the Pope Clement V at Avignon, on September 8, 1309.

Robert's ruthless tenacity and his unscrupulous craving for power, was counterbalanced by his making of Naples one of the cultural centers of his time. The names of Petrarca and Boccaccio, Simone Martini and Giotto, added lustre to his reign.

In his family Robert experienced the vanity of human foresight. In November, 1328, the death of his son Charles, called "Illustre," resulted in a little girl, named Giovanna, then two years of age, becoming the direct heir-ess to Robert's throne. In order to insure the future of the Anjou Dynasty, the King, in 1333, invited his nephew Carobert, King of Hungary, to bring his younger son Andreas, to Naples. As children of six or seven years, Giovanna and Andreas were betrothed to each other. About nine years later,

having been brought up together, the marriage took place at Easter, 1342, in spite of the fact that no sympathy existed between them.

When King Robert died, January 20, 1343, Giovanna, the official heiress to the throne, automatically became Queen of Naples, whereas Andreas remained simply Duke of Calabria.

It was at this time that Andreas' mother, Elzbieta Lokietkówna, considered it advisable to undertake the journey from Hungary to Naples, in order to achieve Andreas' coronation as King of Naples, Sicily and Jerusalem.

Polish historians have with the utmost care collected all information about that journey contained in historical sources.⁸ They tell us how King Ludwig of Hungary ordered for his mother, Elzbieta, the ship, "Jadra," in Zara on the Dalmatian coast, and how he financed the expedition with 27,000 marks of pure



FIG. 3. — LIPPO VANNI. — Altarpiece of Elzbieta Lokietkowna. — Kress Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C. (Right Wing).

8. JAN DABROWSKI, *Elzbieta Lokietkówna*, in: "Rozprawy Akademii Umiejetnosci Krakowskiej Wydział Historyczno-Filozoficzny," Serya II, Tom XXXII, Krakow, 1914; CASIMIR VON CHLEDOWSKI, *Neapolitanische Kulturbilder XIV-XVIII Jahrhundert*, 2nd. ed., Berlin, 1920.

silver and 17,000 marks of the finest gold, as well as a large quantity of copper coins for her daily needs. Less this be not sufficient, Ludwig later sent an additional 4,000 marks of pure gold.

Elzbieta was received with great honor in Venice. Two magnificently outfitted galleys were placed at her disposal for continuing the voyage. In Apulia, she was greeted by Andreas and Giovanna "*cum magna solemnitate et gloria*." In Naples, a sumptuous apartment in the Castel Nuovo served as her residence.

In agreement with the Neapolitan Court, an embassy, consisting of Neapolitan and Hungarian Noblemen was sent to the Pope at Avignon urging the immediate coronation of Andreas and the assumption of supreme power by the young couple. This was necessary, because according to King Robert's last will a regency should have ruled the state until Giovanna's 25th birthday.

Elzbieta's stay in Naples was interrupted by a short visit to Rome, where she was also received with great ceremony by the Colonna and Orsini as well as by the Chapter of St. Peter's basilica. In the beginning of October, 1343, we find Elzbieta again in Naples, still waiting for the return of her emissaries. Finally, Pope Clement VI agreed to Andreas' coronation the date of which, however, was delayed by the intrigues of the Neapolitan Court camarilla, not without the secret support from Giovanna herself.

This is the historic background from which the altarpiece of the Samuel H. Kress Collection emerges. Elzbieta places her tender concern about the future of her son at the feet of the Queen of Heaven, imploring the Infant Christ's blessing for herself and Andreas.

In 1343, when this picture was painted, the Queen was thirty-eight years of age, her son, Andreas, sixteen. Vanni presents them at exactly this age in the painting. So, even in the absence of any written document we could consider as proven that Lippo Vanni's altarpiece in the Kress Collection had its origin from the historic situation described above, and that it presents the portraits of the great Queen Elzbieta Lokietkówna and her young son Andreas, the first husband of the Queen Giovanna of Naples.

At the beginning of 1344, we find Elzbieta Lokietkówna again in Hungary. Aware of the sinister activity of her son's enemies she had tried in vain to take him back with her. Nevertheless, Andreas remained, and fell victim to a cruel attack on his life, in Sept. 1345. The veil of oblivion covers the tragedy of the Anjou Dynasty. Had the young Queen Giovanna any knowledge of the conspiracy? We will never know. Ludwig the Great,⁹ Andreas' brother, answered Giovanna's letter, which implored his help and protection for herself and a little son born after

9. GIO. ANTONIO SUMMONTE NAPOLITANO, *Dell'Historia della Città e Regno di Napoli* Tomo secondo, 427, Napoli, l'Anno Santo MDCLXXV. These are the King's words: "*Impetrata fides praeterita ambitiosa continuatio potestatis Regiae neglecta vindicta, et excusatio subsequenda te viri tui necis arguunt consciam et fuisse participem: neminem tamen divini, humãe nive iudicii poenas nefario sceleris debitas evasurum.*"



FIG. 4. — LIPPO VANNI, — Portraits of Elzbieta Lokietkowna and Andreas. — Kress Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C. (Detail).

prince's *gonnella* is white, with pale blue lilies. His blonde hair is partly covered by a red skull cap with gold lines. The cover of the dagger is decorated with black lines and the round shield is black with gold ornamentation.

The little figures of the donors in the Kress altarpiece are, after all, of great-

Andreas' death, with solemn indignation, referring bluntly to rumors of the Queen's complicity and predicting that no one guilty would escape the severest punishment for their horrible crime against both God and man. History knows that the King's words were fulfilled.

A word is deserved about the costumes of the donors. In the long coat, called *gonnella*, worn by the young prince, the stripes, with the heraldic emblem of the donor run horizontally, as they also do in his cap. An original, of approximately the same shape, has been found in the sarcophagus of Cangrande della Scala of Verona,¹⁰ who died in 1329. The Queen's dress is red, held in at the waist by a golden girdle. The points of the pearl-edged crown are in the shape of lilies and the crown is interspersed with rubies, sapphires and pearls. The

10. GIORGIO SANGIORGI, *Le Stoffe e le Vesti Tombali di Cangrande della Scala*, in: "Bollettino d'Arte del Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione," Serie II, Anno I, 1922.

est importance also for the history of textiles and of costumes.¹¹

As for the original destination of the altarpiece at least a conjecture may be advanced.

Toward 1300, Queen Maria d'Ungheria contributed considerably to the foundation of a convent for nuns of the Order of St. Dominic, situated between the Castel Nuovo and the Castel dell'Uovo at Naples.¹² Maria (died in 1323) was the daughter and heiress of King Stephen of Hungary, the grand niece of Saint Elizabeth, wife of King Charles II of Naples, and the mother of Carobert, the first King of Hungary of the Anjou Dynasty, the husband of Elzbieta Lokietkówna. Therefore, the latter's special interest in this particular convent is easily understandable. Moreover the image of St. Dominic in the altarpiece proves its connection with a church of the Dominican Order. All these facts make it highly probable that Elzbieta Lokietkówna dedicated her altarpiece to the church of that convent which she might have considered her family sanctuary. It is not impossible that further research in the archives at Naples may throw more light on this question.

The identification of the altarpiece of Elzbieta Lokietkówna adds another work of the greatest historical significance to the treasures of the Samuel H. Kress Collection. In particular new light is thrown on the cultural and artistic milieu of Naples during the epoch of the Anjou Dynasty.

This is even more important as with the destruction during the war of the sepulchral monuments in St. Chiara in Naples, the number of important documents of the Anjou period has considerably diminished.¹³

WILLIAM E. SUIDA.

11. Among the textiles published by OTTO VON FALKE, *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei*, II, 1913, there is but one (No. 289, Berlin K G M) showing the motive of lilies alone, and another with lilies and rosettes. An Equestrian Statue of Philippe de Valois (1328-1350), formerly existing in the Cathedral Notre Dame, Paris (repr. in: *Illustrations of Medieval Costumes in England, Collected from MSS . . .*, by T. A. DAY AND T. H. DINES, London, 1830 c) showed the surcoat of the rider as well as the horse trappings decorated all over with lilies, but vertically arranged.

12. EMILE BERTAUX, *Santa Maria di Donna Regina e l'Arte Senese a Napoli nel secolo XIV*, Naples, 1899.

13. In the Samuel H. Kress Collection, National Gallery, Washington, D. C., this altarpiece will take its place beside Tino di Camaiano's masterly votive relief of Queen Sancia which was rightfully identified years ago by DR. W. R. VALENTINER. In the Museum of the Cathedral at Pienza, Italy, there is a votive painting attributed to Bartolo di Fredi, the *Madonna della Misericordia* containing the figures of a Pope, a Queen and a King. I am reasonably sure that here we must recognize the portraits of Pope Clement VI, Queen Giovanna and her second husband, King Louis of Anjou. I intend to make further research concerning this in Italy at my earliest opportunity. If my hypothesis can be proven — and I hope it will — the Pienza painting will turn out to present the best portrait of that fateful and alluring personality, Queen Giovanna of Naples.



FIG. 1. — Jean Carondelet, sculptured effigy. — Cathedral of Bruges, Belgium.

A PORTRAIT BY QUENTIN MASSYS AT THE BARBER INSTITUTE, BIRMINGHAM

ALTHOUGH it is not unknown to art-historians, the portrait which is the subject of this article (Fig. 2) has not hitherto received the publication which it deserves. Of its history practically nothing is known. It came up in Christie's sale-room during 1920, from an anonymous source, without identification or attribution, as a portrait of the German school. Later it was in the hands of the dealer Welker, from whom it was bought by Messrs. T. Agnew & Sons, and sold by them to the Barber Institute in 1943. In 1946 it reappeared on loan at Ag-

new's Gallery in the Exhibition of *Thirty-Five Masterpieces of European Painting*, in aid of the Soldiers', Sailors' and Airmen's Families Association (Catalogue, No. 2). To this brief account it may now be added that the anonymous owner who sent it to auction in 1920 was the Hon. Mrs. Gillet of Thornbury House, Gloucestershire, where it had presumably hung for some considerable time. This does not get us very far, and consideration of the picture must proceed therefore entirely on the facts of the picture itself, without help of documents or pedigree.

The portrait is a half-length representation of an elderly man, against an olive-green background. He is turned slightly to the spectator's left. His white hair is trimmed squarely from the brow, and his rather florid complexion is contrasted with the dark brown fur-trimmed collar, set against it. He wears a finely-pleated white rochet with an almuce on his left forearm. In his left hand he holds a book, between the pages of which his forefinger is inserted. On the forefinger of the right hand is a ring. The medium is oil, on a panel (which has been cradled) 26 by 20 inches (66.3 by 51 cms).

The subject of the portrait, who as we shall see was Jean Carondelet (1469-1545), was one of the most notable men of his age in the Low Countries, and was painted several times. There has, however, been some confusion over his portraits, which we now hope to be able to disentangle. As long ago as 1910, W. H. J. Weale¹ mentioned some confusion over portraits of Jean Carondelet and other members of his family, and published some information about those of Jean, implying that he would later write about the others. He never did, however; neither has anyone else, to my knowledge, corrected the errors that have been made. It is no wonder that some muddle has arisen, for the *Biographie Nationale de Belgique* contains entries for no less than eleven Carondelets, two of them named Jean, both of whom were chancellors. The worst muddle is not, however, a confusion of these two, who were father and son, but of the younger Jean (the subject of our portrait) with his brother Ferry Carondelet (1473-1528). Some brief biographical notes will not be out of place therefore.

Jean Carondelet was the second son of the Chancellor Jean Carondelet (1428-1501), and was born at Dôle in 1469. He entered the Church and early became Dean of the Cathedral of Besançon. He was appointed to the Grand Council by Philippe le Beau in 1497, but resigned this office in 1508, to become a Privy Councilor. In 1517 he accompanied Charles V to Spain and returned with him in 1519 to the Low Countries, where he remained with the Archduchess Marguerite, Regent of the provinces. He was at this time styled "*Conseiller et premier maître des requêtes ordinaires de l'hôtel*." In this capacity he officiated at the assemblies of the States-General of 1531. On the reorganization of the Privy Council in October of that year, Carondelet became President, and retained the office for nine years, before

1. In: "The Burlington Magazine," 1910, XVI, pp. 341-346.



FIG. 2. — QUENTIN MASSYS. — Portrait of Jean Carondelet. — Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Birmingham, England.



FIG. 3. — JAN MABUSE. — Portrait of Jean Carondelet, part of a diptych. — Louvre, Paris.

resigning in 1540 on the grounds of age and ill health. He had accumulated many ecclesiastical honors; he was Archbishop of Palermo and Primate of Sicily; Provost of St. Donat, Bruges, and "*Chancelier perpétuel de Flandre*;" Abbé *commandataire* of Notre-Dame de Mont-Benoît, Burgundy; Provost of St. Walburga at Furnes and of St. Piat at Seclin. He was a friend of Erasmus, who addressed several letters to him and dedicated to him his *Saint Hilaire*; and he left several writings. His motto was: *matura*. He died February 8, 1545 and was buried in the Church of St. Donat at Bruges.

Ferry Carondelet, brother of Jean, was born in 1473, and became Archdeacon of Besançon, Abbé of Mont Saint-Benoît, an ecclesiastical counselor of the Grand Conseil at Malines, Ambassador of the Emperor Maximilian at Rome in 1511 and 1512. He died in 1528, and contrary to the statement frequently made, he was never (at least so far as I can discover) made a cardinal.

The confusion between these two Carondelets is evidently of long standing, for the XVIII Century engraving by G. Benoist, which actually represents Ferry Carondelet (as we shall see), is lettered "*Jean de Carondelet, Chancelier de Bourgogne et de Flandres, Chevalier et Sgr. de Champ Vans Jussy, Montboison, décédé en 1501*," the titles and date being those appropriate to Jean Carondelet senior, the father of Jean and Ferry. Perhaps the best way to straighten out the muddle is to take the several portraits serially.

The earliest in date is a representation by Fra Bartolommeo of Ferry Carondelet kneeling as donor in the altarpiece of the *Madonna in Glory with Saints*, commissioned by him in 1511-1512 and now in the Cathedral of Besançon. Gabelentz,² in discussing this picture, identifies Jean and Ferry Carondelet with each other, and since both were associated with the Cathedral of Besançon, the confusion is understandable enough. It is clearly Ferry who is here represented, how-

2. HANS VON DER GABELENTZ, *Fra Bartolommeo*, 1922, I, pp. 161-164, pl. 13.

ever, for he was in Italy at the time concerned, and Jean is not recorded as ever having visited that country.

The features of this man are even more clearly seen in a portrait representing the Imperial Ambassador with his secretary, formerly attributed to Raphael, which used to be in the Collection of the Duke of Grafton, but now belongs to Baron von Thyssen, Lugano, and is recognized as a work of Sebastiano del Piombo datable about 1512-1515.³ It was engraved by N. de l'Armessin and G. Benoist. This dark, rather melancholy man, with a long, narrow head, is really quite different in appearance from his elder brother, Jean, but there is a portrait which seems to connect them.

This is the earliest of the group of Flemish Carondelet portraits, a panel by Jan Gossaert, called Mabuse, formerly in the Leopold Hirsch Collection, London (Fig. 4), which Friedländer dates 1514.⁴ It was first published by W. H. J. Weale as a *Portrait of Jean Carondelet*,⁵ which is probably correct, though this head bears much more resemblance to those of the Fra Bartolommeo and Sebastiano del Piombo pictures than do any of the later portraits of Jean.

The second *Portrait of Jean Carondelet*, dated 1517, is the panel in the Louvre (Fig. 3) which forms part of a diptych, signed by Mabuse, and inscribed with the sitter's name and age.⁶ This, which is in Mabuse's finest and most sensitive style, provides the clearest delineation of Carondelet's characteristic features. The third portrait by Mabuse, in the Gutmann Collection, Vienna (Fig. 5), forms a diptych with the *St. Donatien* in the Museum at Tournai and is also inscribed with the sitter's name and offices, but is not dated.⁷ It is clearly



FIG. 4. — JAN MABUSE. — Portrait of Jean Carondelet. — Formerly Leopold Hirsch Collection, London.

3. See: "Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst," N. F., II, pp. 129 et sq.; R. PALLUCHINI, *Sebastiano Viniziano*, 1944, pp. 39, 121, n. 33, 159 and pl. 29; L. DUSSLER, *Sebastiano del Piombo*, 1942, pp. 37, 135, pls. 26 and 28.

4. MAX J. FRIEDLÄNDER, *Die Altniederländische Malerei*, VIII, 1930, No. 51, pl. XLIII.

5. In: "The Burlington Magazine," XVI, 1910, pp. 341-346. It was exhibited at the R.A. Exhibition of Flemish and Belgian Art, 1927, No. 200.

6. See: FRIEDLÄNDER, *Op. cit.*, No. 4, pl. IX.

7. See: FRIEDLÄNDER, *Op. cit.*, No. 5, pl. XIII.

later than the Louvre picture, but not so late as 1531, the date suggested by W. Roberts.⁸ Friedländer⁹ suggests a date about 1520, and Weale says it cannot have been painted before 1521, probably some years later.¹⁰ Then there is a portrait in the Brooklyn Museum (gift of Mr. Havemeyer) which shows him as an older man, and must have been painted not long before 1530. This portrait, which used to be attributed to Quentin Massys,¹¹ was assigned by Friedländer to Vermeyen. Closely related to the New York portrait, is one attributed to Van Orley, in the Alte Pinakothek at Munich, in which the head was apparently copied from that by Vermeyen.¹² Dr. Friedländer has written one of his most cautiously worded paragraphs on the relationship between these two pictures,¹³ attempting to resolve the difficulty which arises from his having dated the New York one about 1530 and the Munich one about 1520. If the Munich head is not a later overpainting, however, Conway's solution, to date both pictures about 1525, seems simpler.

Yet another portrait is mentioned by Weale as having formerly been in the Cathedral of Bruges,¹⁴ and in addition to these painted images, there is the sculptured effigy in Bruges Cathedral (Fig. 1), first reproduced by Weale.¹⁵

With such a quantity of material for comparison, the identification of the Barber Institute picture rests on a remarkably firm foundation. The identity of the sitter is established beyond a doubt. The nose and mouth, with its slightly protuberant lip, is unmistakably the same as in the Louvre and Gutmann portraits; the prominent cheek bone and the rather fleshy cheeks, the broad forehead and arched eyebrows, the widely set and firm, contemplative eyes are recognizable in all the portraits. What rather distinguishes the Barber Institute panel is the great sensitivity of the characterization, an appearance of a certain rough kindliness and humor, which can hardly be said to be noticeable in the others, unless perhaps in the Louvre panel. This impression of sensitiveness is strengthened particularly by two things: firstly, the technique, which in the head has that quality of fusion and a soft looseness of brushwork usually regarded as the peculiar characteristic of a painter's old age and ripe experience; and secondly, by the hands, long-fingered and slender, rather unlike the thick hands of the Mabuse panels and the gesticulating ones of the Vermeyen. These observations indicate perhaps the tempera-

8. *Mabuse Portraits of Carondelet*, in: "The Connoisseur," XVIII, 1907, pp. 179-181.

9. *Op. cit.*, XII, p. 161.

10. *Portraits of Archbishop John Carondelet*, in: "The Burlington Magazine," XVI, 1910, p. 342.

11. E.g. by SIR M. CONWAY, *The Van Eycks and their Followers*, 1921, pp. 328, 376, who dates it about or before 1525.

12. Reproduced in: E. HANFSTAENGL, *Meisterwerke der Alteren Pinakothek in München*, 1922, p. 111.

13. *Op. cit.*, XII, pp. 160-161 and pl. LXXIX.

14. In: "The Burlington Magazine," XVI, 1910, p. 342.

15. *Ibid.* p. 346. There are also engraved portraits, which I do not propose to go into, since they are of a derivative nature and less authentic as likenesses than the paintings from which they derive. A good print, however, like that by C. van Caukercken, in: J. F. FOPPENS' *Bibliotheca Belgica*, 1739, opp. p. 605, may be mentioned. FOPPENS, incidentally, seems to be the main authority for the biography of Carondelet.



FIG. 5. — JAN MABUSE. — Portrait of Jean Carondelet. — Formerly Gutmann Collection, Vienna.



FIG. 6. — QUENTIN MASSYS. — Three Marys and St. John at the Tomb, part of altarpiece. — Museum Las Janellas Verdes, Lisbon.

ment of the artist rather than the character of the sitter, and are of importance in the question of attribution, to which we shall come in a moment. It is clear, too, that here is the latest portrait of the series, in which the Chancellor appears to be about sixty years of age; so that its date must be in the region of 1530.

In approaching the question of attribution, I am rather conscious of being unable to produce the kind of cut-and-dried arguments with which one would ideally like to be supported — a series of careful parallels in accepted works, such as, for example, Hulin de Loo employed to justify his attribution to Massys of the *Por-*

trait of a Man, now in the Oscar Reinhart Collection at Winterthur.¹⁶ Indeed, the peculiarities of Quentin's manner which Hulin there described — the tendency to place the nose slightly too much in profile when drawing a three-quarters face, and to displace the mouth slightly in the other direction; the odd sideways displacement of the neck; and so on — such peculiarities are not found at all in the Barber Institute panel. But we are, of course, dealing with a work separated by more than twenty years from the Reinhart portrait.

Nevertheless there are, I think, good reasons for assigning this panel to the last years of the greatest Flemish artist of that time.¹⁷ Its color harmony and atmospheric suggestion is of the most subtle delicacy possible, the pale olive-green background and the lighting of the head conveying the sensation of a slightly shadowed interior on a summer morning. The contours everywhere are treated with a skill commanded at that date only by the greatest masters; look, for instance, at the profile of the face on the farther side, against the fine white hair, against the background, and against the fur-trimmed collar; look, too, at the drawing of the nose and lips, which by the most subtle use of shadow and delicate modulation of line, produces an effect paralleled only by the superb skill with which the eyes are painted. The artist was one greater even than the Mabuse who painted the *Portrait of Carondelet* in 1517. But it is the hands, perhaps, that point most clearly to Massys. One feels they are the hands of the artist himself, rather than of Carondelet, and a certain tranquillity and tenderness which they seem to express remind one distinctly of the mood and coloration of some of the panels of the great altarpiece now reassembled at Lisbon, especially of the *Three Maries and St. John at the Tomb* (Fig. 6), generally dated, I believe, about 1520.

If one were to look for close parallels, the *Portrait of a Canon* in the Liechtenstein Collection which belongs to the period 1510-1520, provides the nearest.¹⁸ There the white pleated surplice, the fur almuce over the left arm, and the pose



FIG. 7. — QUENTIN MASSYS. — Portrait. — Städel Institute, Frankfort, Germany.

16. G. HULIN DE LOO, in: "The Burlington Magazine," XLIV, 1924, pp. 212 et sq.

17. It is a pleasure to acknowledge that the identification and attribution were both first suggested by MR. COLIN AGNEW.

18. FRIEDLÄNDER, *Op. cit.*, VII, No. 39, pl. XXXVII.

of the hand holding the missal, are very similar, but the head is much less sensitive in treatment.

A portrait which more nearly approaches the Barber Institute picture in quality, and perhaps provides the conclusive evidence for the attribution, is the one in the Staedel Institute, Frankfort (Fig. 7), in which the flesh of the face has a similar suggestion of mobility, and the mouth is drawn with an equal sensitivity of perception. This fine panel is dated by Friedländer to Massys' last period.¹⁹ The raised right hand of the Frankfort picture, however, may be felt as a slight interference with the expressiveness of the head, and the greater simplicity of the Barber picture seems to be a gain. It would not be too much to claim, I think, that this panel represents the highest point to which Massys attained as a portrait painter, in the last years of his life.

A. C. SEWTER.



¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, VII, No. 46, pl. XLIII.

SENTIMENT OF NATURE IN AMERICAN LANDSCAPE PAINTING*

WHEN America was ready to succeed to the inheritance of European landscape painting, Romanticism was in the ascendance in Europe. The first professional English landscape painters who settled in America,¹ men of limited capacities, practiced a version of the picturesque then in vogue in the old country: a last diluted infusion of the old Italianate "grand style." There is a painting by an American, Ralph Earl (1751-1801),² that illustrates this fact most convincingly (Fig. 1). This is not a landscape in the strict sense of the word but a portrait with a landscape seen through a window. Earl, incidentally, painted a few pure landscapes as early as 1800, but they are hesitating steps in a new direction that was not his line. He was a born portrait painter for all his austerity and naïveté. Colonel Taylor, the subject of the portrait referred to, evidently was a man of culture who dabbled in painting like the English noblemen of his period. In Earl's painting Colonel Taylor poses as an amateur artist, the crayon in his right hand, the painter's stick (seemingly an elegant walking stick adapted to use in the studio) dangling casually from his left. In front of him, propped against a support that is not visible, is his drawing board on which a half-finished study of the landscape seen through the window is displayed. He lays on the contours and shadows with black and heightens the lights with white. The landscape itself which Earl shows through the window frame is a typical English picture: a lovely valley traversed by a peaceful rivulet and fringed with bushes and trees. A hamlet

* This article is part of a chapter of a book, *American Landscape Painting, An Interpretation*, to be published next fall by Yale University Press, with whose permission it appears here.

1. George Beck, born 1749, came to America in 1795, died here in 1812; William Groombridge, born in 1760, came to America in 1794, died here in 1811; William Winstanley, born at an unknown date, stayed in America from about 1790 to about 1801, died at an unknown date, probably in England. See: J. HALL PLEASANTS, *Four Late Eighteenth Century Anglo-American Landscape Painters*, Worcester, Mass., 1943.

2. R. L. HARTLEY, *An Eighteenth Century Connecticut Artist Comes into his Own*, in: "American Collector," XIV (1945), pp. 10-13.

is in the background. The evening sky is partly lighted by the afterglow of the sun, which has obviously just set. This bit of mild picturesqueness seems inspired by Earl's English predecessor, Richard Wilson. We can take it for granted that the proud maker of the chiaroscuro sketch knew Burke's then famous *Inquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful*³ which, since its appearance in 1756, had conditioned the Anglo-Saxon world for the wave of Romanticism which later on was to sweep the earth.

The American colonies, apart from sermons, political speeches, folk ballads, and other unpretentious productions, had no literature of their own. Landscape painting was in a similarly humble state of development. There were wall paintings and overmantles⁴ which occasionally showed landscapes, but they are mainly decorative and thus outside the scope of this discussion. The roots of the American landscape proper were the topographical drawing, water color, and print.⁵ Views of harbors count among the earliest American landscapes,⁶ as is shown by a somewhat clumsy picture in the New-York Historical Society (Fig. 2). This painting stems from the middle of the XVIII Century and recalls Dutch engravings which, without any doubt, were well known in New York. The Dutch models, however, were not the only influences which inspired the topographic landscape in America. The demand for authentic representations of points of interest was general and stimulated the development of the topographical engraving. The style of this type of engraving was sober and clear, and this is true also of the style of the painters of views, whose works like those of Thomas Birch⁷ were derived from these topographical engravings. Birch was born in England in 1779, the son of an engraver of views, and came with his father to America in 1794. He began his career as a painter of city views more or less in the manner of his father; an example is his view of Philadelphia in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. It is dated 1800. The tradition lasted into the second quarter of the XIX Century but gradually its austerity softened. This austerity, it should be remembered, was part of the esthetic tenets of Classicism, the period style that controlled the art of the western world at the turn of the century. In his later life—he lived until 1851—Birch painted seascapes of a decidedly dramatic character, such as the *Shipwreck* of 1829 (Fig. 3). He then used a much richer inventory of tones and blended them subtly rather than clinging to the flat, silhouetted, and static mode of expression prevalent in his youth. Birch's evolution echoed the evolution from the glossy seascape of the XVIII Century French painter, Joseph Vernet, whom he admired, to

3. HUSSEY, *Op. cit.*, pp. 57-60.

4. NINA FLETCHER LITTLE, *Winthrop Chandler*, in "Art in America," XXXV (1947), N°2, fig. 33.

5. FRANK WEITENKAMPF, *Early American Landscape Prints*, in: "Art Quarterly," VIII (1945), N°1, pp. 40-67.

6. JAMES THOMAS FLEXNER, *American Colonial Paintings in General*, in: "Magazine of Art," XL (1947), pp. 138-142.

7. ALLEN BURROUGHS, *Limners and Likenesses*, Cambridge, Mass., 1936, pp. 142-144.



FIG. 1. — RALPH EARL. — Portrait of Colonel William N. Taylor, 1790. — Albright Art Gallery, Buffalo, N. Y.



FIG. 2. — UNKNOWN PAINTER. — South East Prospect of the City of New York, about 1756.
— New-York Historical Society.

the atmospheric seascape of Turner — a product of Romanticism,⁸ the first European literary and artistic movement to find a creative echo in America after her independence.

The first American artist of importance who represented the new American cosmopolitanism was Washington

Allston.⁹ Born in 1779, he graduated from Harvard in 1800, and in the next year left for Europe. London, Paris, and Rome were the main centers of his wandering years. Romanticism seems to have been the most natural artistic language to him and his early paintings show the influence of Turner.

It is important for the understanding of Allston to reconstruct the intellectual and artistic atmosphere of Rome in the beginning of the XIX Century. Artists and poets from all corners of the world congregated in this unique spot. They discussed painting and verses in the shadow of Michelangelo and Raphael. The world, seen from a studio in Rome, appeared deeper, more brilliant and meaningful than at home, more "magic" as the artists of today would call it. Turner himself, the much-admired pioneer of the Romantic landscape in England, took deep draughts from the stimulating potion of the Roman circle. It must have been a revelation, an overwhelming experience for Allston. This gifted young man had eagerly absorbed the best available classic education at home and later on the esthetic culture of England, in the studio of Benjamin West, his successful American-born teacher. Now he developed a romantic sensibility.

Rome brought Allston in contact with Coleridge,¹⁰ Washington Irving, and Fenimore Cooper, not to speak of the other members of the international group assembled at the famed Café Greco which comprised Shelley, Keats, Hans Christian Andersen, and Thorwaldsen. Here Allston also became acquainted with the brothers Humboldt, of whom one was the Prussian ambassador in Rome and the

8. JAMES THRALL SOBY AND DOROTHY C. MILLER, *Romantic Painting in America (Catalogue)*, New York, The Museum of Modern Art, 1943; EDGAR PRESTON RICHARDSON, *American Romantic Painting*, New York, 1944, pp. 5-13; FREDERICK A. SWEET, *The Hudson River School and the Early Landscape Tradition (Catalogue)*, New York, 1945, pp. I-II.

9. EDGAR PRESTON RICHARDSON, *Allston and the Development of Romantic Color*, in: "Art Quarterly," VII (1944), N° I, pp. 33-57.

10. KATHLEEN COBURN, *Notes on Washington Allston from an Unpublished Notebook of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, in: "Gazette des Beaux-Arts," XXV (1944), pp. 249-252.

other famous as an explorer of South America. Madame de Staël, the French writer who discovered Goethe, Schiller, and the German idealistic movement for the outside world, also belonged to Allston's acquaintances.

In the last two years of his sojourn in Rome another young American artist of promise, John Vanderlyn, joined him. Vanderlyn was three years younger than Allston. After a preliminary training at home by Gilbert Stuart, he went as early as 1796 to study in Paris—an unusual step in his time—and with the exception of the period from 1801 to 1803, he remained in Europe. In his Roman days he stayed at a house once occupied by Salvator Rosa and this choice was by no means without significance. The young American felt attached to the painter of dramatized wilderness whom the connoisseurs of the XVIII Century praised for his "sublimity." He might have felt a true follower of Salvator Rosa when, in 1802—the first artist to do so—he painted Niagara Falls, the "scenic wonder" that embodied the spirit of Romanticism in all its grandeur.

The heavy freight of ideas which Allston took home from Rome was to prove in the long run a burden that stifled his productivity. The second half of his long life was spoiled by the obsession of painting a composition in the "grand manner" of Michelangelo using the theme of *Belshazzar's Feast*. Nothing could be more romantic than the biblical story of the Assyrian king to whom the hand of God announced his impending doom by writing the fatal message on the wall of his palace. The remoteness of the subject matter and the demand it made on the professional proficiency of the painter, however, exceeded his imaginative power and his training. Even if he had been able to overcome all these limitations, New England simply was not the soil in which a work of this character could easily grow.

It was not pure accident that Allston's best work was done in the field of landscape. Here he could apply his newly won romantic sensibility to the full without missing the stimuli of the European studio, for the intellectual romanticism he had acquired was bolstered by the innate romanticism



FIG. 3. — THOMAS BIRCH. — Shipwreck, 1829. — Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, N. Y.



FIG. 4. — WASHINGTON ALLSTON. — *Elijah Fed by the Ravens*, 1818. — Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass.

of American nature. Allston's landscape, however, is not American in the topographical sense of the word. His landscape painting is a purely imaginative art. In 1804 he ushered in the development of American landscape painting with two of its most impressive works: the *Rising of a Thunderstorm at Sea*, and the *Deluge*. The latter, an unforgettable "arrangement in black" as Whistler would have called it, was a wildly romantic vision of gloom with bodies, flotsam, and serpents floating in the bleakness of the watery desert. The first is now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, the second in the Metropolitan Museum, New York.

Ten years after his return to America Allston produced his masterpiece, *Elijah Fed by the Ravens* (Fig. 4), now in the Boston Museum. Here the spectacular characteristics of his earlier period are sublimated into a truly poetical imagery in which reminiscences of Salvator Rosa and Ruysdael (the Ruysdaelesque barren tree!) have been absorbed. The *Moonlit Landscape* of 1819, also in Boston (Fig. 5), recalls Claude Lorrain, and occasionally in his later life, reminiscences from the Italian sojourn inspired a nostalgic painting with Roman ruins, pine trees, and Italian youths serenading rustic girls — but gradually the creative power of the landscape painter faded.

The impression, however, made by his works and his personality on his compa-



FIG. 5. — WASHINGTON ALLSTON. — Moonlit Landscape, about 1819. — Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Mass.

triot's was deep and lasting. The younger generation applied his teachings, with more or less high aspiration. Its work ranges all the way from the mere addition of romantic sensibility in a topographical landscape to the interpretation of nature in terms of mysticism and allegory. Mysticism and allegory were the earmarks of the German school of Romantic painters in contradistinction to the French and English schools. A group of German Romantics, the Nazarenes, settled in Rome around 1810 and took their inspiration from Catholicism. This colony in Rome was in contact with Anglo-Saxon artists there, both of English and American origin, but this was not enough to explain the undeniable similarity of American and German painters during the early XIX Century. It probably was due more to the influence of German literature on the intellectual atmosphere in America, which in turn influenced its art. From the 'Thirties on, the influence of German philosophy made itself felt clearly in Emerson's transcendentalist circle at Concord. Margaret Fuller's art criticism, including an essay on Washington Allston, strikingly recalls the style and the ideology of Ludwig Tieck and other German writers of the Romantic era.



FIG. 6. — SAMUEL FINLEY BREEZE MORSE. — Allegorical Landscape, 1836. — New-York Historical Society.

As early as 1822 Washington Irving had moved in the literary circles of Dresden¹¹ and met there the archromantic novelist Jean Paul. No less a painter than Caspar David Friedrich was working in Dresden at this time. Intellectual currents often take devious directions, but their latent energies are ready to manifest themselves when they meet with a kindred attitude—and the awe and charm which the untamed nature of his country held for the American made him responsive to the brooding, metaphysical German *Naturphilosophie*, however indirectly it may have reached him.¹²

Allston's pupil, Samuel Finley Morse, of telegraphic fame, traveled in Italy and there painted the *Chapel of the Virgin at Subiaco*,¹³ a picture that one could almost take for a German Nazarene. Back in America he dreamed of a fanciful mountain landscape with classic buildings around New York University — then a neo-Gothic, and thus strictly Romantic edifice (Fig. 6). A glowing sunset transfigures the scene of his dream. It is well known that the dream was a favorite artistic device of the Romanticists. Evidently Morse's dream imagery was inspired by the fact that he had just been made the first professor of art at an American university, namely that of New York, when he painted the picture in 1836. This strange little picture fuses the gothicized landscape of the German Romantic type with the ideal landscape of Claude Lorrain.

11. GEORGE S. HELLMAN, *Washington Irving, Esquire*, New York, 1925, p. 138.

12. WOLFGANG BORN, *Sources of American Romanticism*, in: "Antiques," XLVIII (1945), pp. 274-277.

13. SWEET, *Op. cit.*, ill. p. 33.



FIG. 7. — SAMUEL FINLEY BREEZE MORSE — View from Apple Hill, Cooperstown, N. Y., 1828-1829. — Mr. Stephen C. Clark Collection, New York.

In his *View from Apple Hill, Cooperstown, New York* (1828-1829), Morse gives a detailed view of the Susquehanna river, the Romantic element of which is less obvious but is nevertheless there (Fig. 7). Two girls dressed in the slightly operatic fashion of their period occupy the center of the foreground. One of them faces the spectator, and thus establishes an emotional contact between him and the content of the picture. The other turns her back to the public and seems engrossed in the view, thus leading the eye into the depth of the space and conveying subtly the feeling of Romantic abandonment to nature. This device had been used since the beginning of the century by Caspar David Friedrich in Germany and proved most suggestive as an expression of the Romantic philosophy of nature which was essentially pantheistic.

It is not by accident that William Cullen Bryant, America's first and leading Romantic poet, in his most vigorous creative period — the 'Twenties — showed marked pantheistic leanings.¹⁴

Bryant's sentiment of nature was eminently suited to stimulate a landscape

14. TREMAINE McDOWELL, *William Cullen Bryant*, New York, 1935, pp. XXV-XXVI, XXXVI.



FIG. 8. — WILLIAM G. WALL. — View near Fishkill, N. Y., about 1820. — New-York Historical Society, New York.

painter and, in fact, the first generation of American landscape painters found him a source of inspiration and a faithful supporter of their endeavors. When in the familiar introduction of *Thanatopsis* he conceived of nature as a mirror of the soul, he outlined the theory of the landscape of mood, that gift of the XVII Century. The landscape of mood had survived in Gainsborough

during the XVIII Century, though as an undercurrent only, and rose to prominence again in the beginning of the XIX Century, the heyday of Romanticism.

The training ground for America's first authentic school of landscape painters was the Hudson River Valley. The waterways¹⁵ were the most important traffic arteries in a vast continent, the road system of which was yet to be developed. The opening of canals, among which the Erie in 1825 was notable, added new occasions for this leisurely type of journeying which brought the traveler in close contact with nature.

Of all American rivers the Hudson was the first and most important traffic artery before the opening of the Mississippi for navigation. The scenic beauty of its shores impressed itself on the early travelers, and thus a demand developed for adequate pictorial representation of the Hudson River Valley. An Irish born landscape painter, William G. Wall (1792-1885), published, about 1824, a portfolio¹⁶ containing twenty views of the Hudson River in aquatint. This portfolio was a great success. The prints, colored in soft, broken tints among which bluish tones were predominant, combined topographical accuracy with an almost tender feeling for the landscape. This tenderness is even more obvious in the water colors that served as models for the etcher (Fig. 8).

Thomas Doughty was the oldest of the landscape painters who explored the pictorial charms of the Hudson River Valley without adopting the limitations which the topographical view imposed. Born in Philadelphia in 1793, Doughty

15. SEYMOUR DUNBAR, *A History of Travel in America*, Indianapolis, 1915, II, *passim*.

16. HELEN COMSTOCK, *Hudson River Portfolio after Paintings by W. G. Wall*, in: "Connoisseur," CVII (1941), pp. 120, 121; DONALD A. SHELLEY, *William Guy Wall and his Watercolors for the Hudson River Portfolio*, in: "The New-York Historical Society Quarterly," XXXI (1947), N° I, pp. 25-45.



FIG. 9. — THOMAS DOUGHTY. — *The Raft*, 1830. — Museum of Art, Providence, R. I.

began his adult life as a businessman but in 1820 abandoned his profession in favor of landscape painting — an audacious undertaking at a time when the market for landscapes was restricted more or less to an accurate representation of country seats commissioned by their affluent owners.

Doughty, however, was successful. He came at the right moment. The public had been prepared by the engraved views for the appreciation of landscape. The Romantic writers popularized American scenery by their descriptions. Doughty himself exhibited paintings illustrating James Fenimore Cooper's *Pioneers*. Washington Irving's quaint Hudson stories were interpreted by the gifted narrative painter John Quidor in pictures in which the landscape, though not the main thing, played a not inconsiderable role. The intense pride in their country which was a common and sometimes noisily expressed characteristic of the Americans

of this generation, manifested itself in the best minds as esthetic enthusiasm for American nature and its artistic interpretation. An harmonious relationship between the artist and his public developed that lasted for several decades—roughly speaking, until the time of the Civil War.

Doughty did not restrict himself to the Hudson River Valley in the selection of motifs, and he was not even the first to paint there, but his name is firmly linked with the origin and the development of the Hudson River school.¹⁷ The term was coined by a critic in the "New York Tribune" to characterize this group of painters as presumptuous provincials. Gradually, however, the derogatory nickname became the generally accepted designation for the leading movement in American landscape painting during the middle of the XIX Century. A similar thing happened in France with the term "impressionism" which was first used by a newspaperman as an abusive word. The range of Doughty's expression was limited. He was self-taught but not naïve. Although few European originals of old masters and contemporary painters were then in America, enough prints were accessible to make a painter, especially in a cultural center as varied as Philadelphia, familiar with the style of outstanding foreign artists. In the conventional compositions of Doughty, with their repoussoirs and groups of trees forming naturally grown monuments, the ideal landscape of Claude and Gaspard Poussin survives, however much diluted (Fig. 9). Doughty's technique is summary. He glosses over the more vigorous characteristics of nature in favor of a "genteel," feminine charm. His was a parlor Romanticism. He painted a somewhat stage-like lake enclosed by mountains, with a tiny figure seen from the back which seems to view the landscape with awe, and he called the composition *In Nature's Wonderland*. In his later years he must have studied Ruysdael, for in 1846 he painted a landscape with a Roman bridge and ruins which is a copy of one of the great Dutch masters' pictures in the Louvre.¹⁸ This landscape is now in the Brooklyn Museum. Although lauded at first, Doughty outlived his early success; and he died, disillusioned and poor, in 1856, long before a new generation looked at him again with sympathetic eyes.

The step from a summarily grasped and traditionally treated landscape to an authentic study of a given locality was made by Asher B. Durand.¹⁹ Durand was

17. CHARLES LANMAN, *Letters from a Landscape Painter*, Boston, 1844; F. J. MATHER, JR., *The Hudson River School* in: "American Magazine of Art," XXVII (1934), pp. 297-306; *Hudson River Men*, in: "Bulletin of the Minneapolis Institute of Art," XXV (1936), pp. 142-147; SIDNEY KELLNER, *The Beginnings of Landscape Painting in America*, in: "Art in America," XXVI (1938), pp. 158-168; SAMUEL ISHAM, *The History of American Painting*, New York, 1942, pp. 232-254; BARTLETT COWDREY, *The Hudson River School and its Place in American Art*, in: "American Collector," XIV (May 1945), pp. 10-11; *Knowns and Unknowns of the Hudson River School*, in: "Antiques," XLVII (1945), pp. 140-144; SWEET, *Op. cit.*, *passim*.

18. *In Nature's Wonderland* and *Landscape after Ruysdael*, 1846; SWEET, *Op. cit.*, ill. pp. 37, 39.

19. FREDERICK A. SWEET, *Asher B. Durand, Pioneer American Landscape Painter*, in: "Art Quarterly," XVIII (1945), pp. 140-160.



FIG. 10. — ASHER BROWN DURAND. — Sunday Morning, 1839. — New-York Historical Society, New York.

born of Huguenot stock in 1796. The son of a painter, he was trained as an engraver, but as early as 1817 attended classes at the American Academy of Fine Arts, and gradually devoted more and more time to painting until he gave up engraving in 1839 to become a professional portrait and landscape painter. A wealthy merchant in New York, Luman Reed, had encouraged him in his development as a painter. Reed was the first collector in America who patronized contemporary American art on a large scale. It was a severe loss for the young painters when he died in 1836, but evidently his example bore fruit. Other men of means and discriminating taste took an interest in the development of American art. Durand found a new patron, Reed's younger partner, Jonathan Sturges, and, although he painted landscapes in preference to the more highly valued fields of the portrait and genre, he was made President of the National Academy of Design in 1845, which in the twenty years since it was founded had developed into the central agency of American art life. Durand held this office until 1861.

In his middle years Durand traveled in Europe, visited London and Paris and stayed in Rome for a winter. His reaction to Europe was in keeping with the Romantic pattern: he was enthusiastic over Rembrandt, Rubens, Murillo and Van

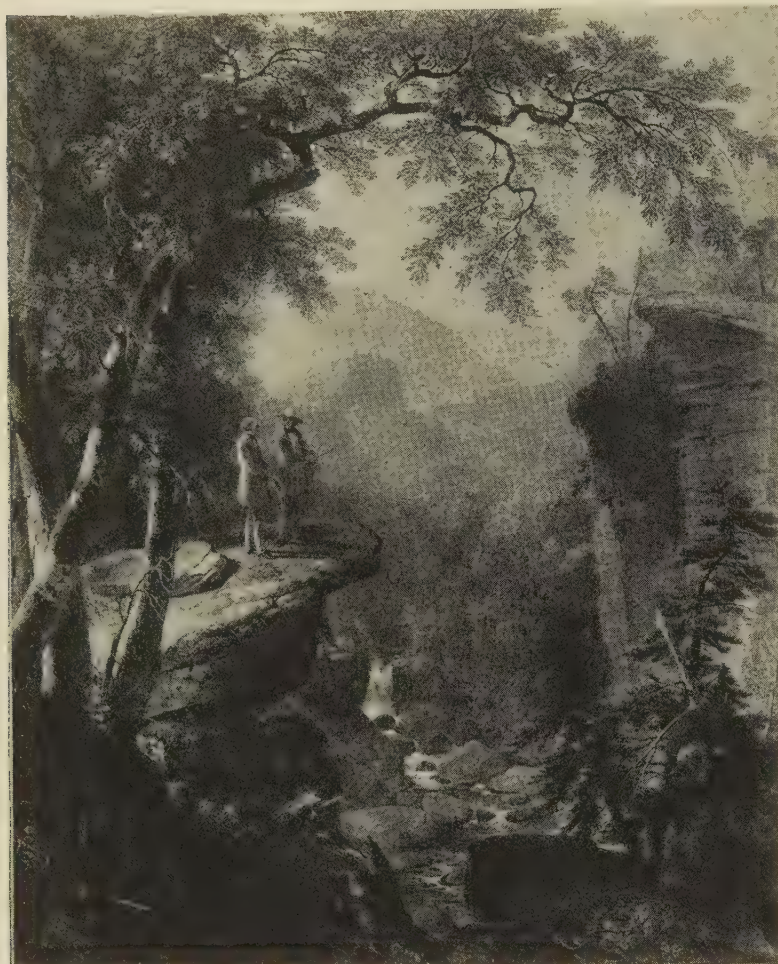


FIG. 11. — ASHER BROWN DURAND. — *Kindred Spirits*, 1849. — New York Public Library, New York.

Dyck as well as over Claude Lorrain and Salvator Rosa, was disgusted with Jean Louis David, the Classicist, and his school, and was most impressed by the "picturesque" nature of the Rhine Valley and the Swiss Alps.

Durand's pictures, like those of his Swiss contemporary Alexander Calame, are reminiscent of Ruysdael: rugged trees with knotty branches form the wings of a prospect enlivened by a cascade; sunlight breaks though the green network of foliage and plays on mossy rocks. Rustic people are distributed in the picture space so as to emphasize its depth, but they are not emotional focal points as in the pictures of Morse and

Doughty; farmers or small townspeople, they move quietly along; concerned with their own affairs, they are not lost in the contemplation of nature (Fig. 10).

Durand made careful drawings from nature for his paintings, but he never quite overcame the limitations of his past as an engraver. This is shown by the conventional formulas he used for foliage and other recurrent elements. The authenticity of his work is bought at the price of certain mechanical dryness in the treatment of color, and this honest painstaking technique contributed to the establishment of a tradition which characterized American landscape painting during the middle of the XIX Century—a tradition that was at once its strength and its weakness.

During his activity as an engraver he had illustrated stories by Washington Irving and other contemporary Romantic writers. Now, as he painted, he endeav-

ored to integrate his literary taste into the new medium. In 1840, the year in which he left for Europe, he painted two compositions, companion pieces entitled the *Morning* and the *Evening of Life*, now in the National Academy of Design in New York. Both are heroic landscapes. One depicts a young shepherd, a woman with children, and a Greek temple in the background; the other shows an old lonely shepherd, the broken columns of a Greek temple, and a Gothic church as background. The allegorical content is obvious: the cycle of life is compared with the cycle of civilization, and both are embedded in the eternal rhythm of the times of the day. Pictorial symbolism, however, does not seem to have been a natural way of expression for Durand, for the two paintings remained exceptions in his work. As documents of taste they are interesting, but only on the firm basis of reality did Durand develop a convincing style. No doubt, literary impressions received in his contact with Romantic poetry moved him deeply, and eventually he found a pictorial outlet for them in what I should like to call biographical landscapes: views of familiar scenery enlivened by significant figures taken from the Romantic circle. One of these landscapes, called *Kindred Spirits*, shows Bryant, the poet, in the company of Thomas Cole, the leader of the Romantic movement in American painting, standing on a cliff, engrossed in a discussion of the picturesque view of a waterfall in a wooded ravine (Fig. 11). Huge trees form a natural frame around the contemplative couple — a composition that recalls a painting by Caspar David Friedrich of romantic wanderers contemplating the chalk cliffs of the island of Rügen.²⁰

Durand's picture is full of tender feeling. In fact, it is a memorial monument. One year before it was painted, in 1848, Thomas Cole had died prematurely. Bryant wrote the funeral oration for his friend, and Durand, moved by the loss, created a composition expressing the spirit of the epoch which he might have felt had reached its climax and was about to be relegated to a secondary role.

In another somewhat



20. HERBERT VON-EINAM, *Caspar David Friedrich*, Berlin, n.d., *Chalk Cliffs in Rügen*, fig. 61.

FIG. 12. — UNKNOWN ARTIST (formerly attributed to DURAND). — Mohawk Valley, about 1850. — New York Historical Association, Cooperstown, N. Y.

later painting of this type, *Mohawk Valley*, there is a rock in the left foreground on which two painters have settled to sketch the spacious prospect before them, with a railway train making its way between wooded hills (Fig. 12). This picture is full of implications. It faithfully records Durand's habit of painting in the open although it was not painted by him, and it gives the atmosphere in which American Romanticism developed—the scenic mountains of the State of New York. The railway represents the modern spirit—an element considered then no less Romantic than a Medieval castle. The Romanticists evidently did not anticipate that the railway soon would upset the calm world in which alone their introspective art could unfold.

Cole,²¹ who died when the Revolution of 1848 dealt the death blow to European Romanticism, had been born in 1801 in Lancaster, England, but his family was of American origin. In 1818 they moved to America. Young Thomas, who had been an engraver in Liverpool, struggled hard to get a foothold in the arts. It was a time of heartbreaking toil for the penniless youth who then lived in Ohio. Finally, after a period of hunger and misery, his work was noticed, and beginning in 1825, a year that seems to have been a turning point in American taste, he found friends and patrons, and success followed. The years from 1829 to 1832 were spent in Europe. Cole visited England and traveled through Switzerland and the Rhone Valley to Marseilles, where he took a boat to Italy. His reactions to what he saw were not much different from those of Durand. He disliked the neo-Classic art of the French but remained faithful to Claude Lorrain. In Rome he stayed in a studio which allegedly once was Claude's—a move that recalls Vanderlyn's stay in Salvatore Rosa's erstwhile workshop. It is worth noticing that in Rome he sympathized with the German and English artist because they "painted with more soul than the Italians." After his return he was swamped with commissions, married and settled down, and the home of his wife's family in the Catskills became his own home. It was situated in his favorite landscape. Another trip to Europe, which led him through Germany, followed, and during his last years he visited Niagara Falls.

Cole began with landscapes from the Hudson River Valley and the White Mountains which combine a loving record of details with intense expression. This expression is tuned to a major key. Dramatic contrasts are the painter's favorite patterns. The sunrise, a motif especially dear to the German Romanticists,²² is not less welcome to their American colleague as a device for visually interpreting the mysterious energies of nature. Highly poetized and dramatized views of American

21. H. S. FRANCIS, *Thomas Cole, Painter of the Catskill Mountains*, in: "Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art," XXIV (1937), pp. 98-101; B. CUMMING, *Thomas Cole Exhibition*, in: "Art in America," XXX (1942), pp. 68-69; P. LESLEY, *Thomas Cole and the Romantic Sensibility*, in: "Art Quarterly," V (1942), pp. 199-211.

22. TSCHUDI, *Op. cit.*, Caspar David Friedrich's *Cross in the Mountains*, ill. p. 150, Philipp Otto Runge's *Morning*, ill. p. 45.



FIG. 13. — THOMAS COLE. — Landscape with Tree Trunks, about 1835. — Museum of Art, Providence, R. I.

and European scenes followed. Some were limited to the representation of untamed nature, where gnarled and barren trunks recalled Ruysdael's anthropomorphic trees raising their branches like arms in despair (Fig. 13). Others indulged in ponderous allegories illustrating the *Voyage of Life* or *The Cross of the World*. The public was swept off its feet, but the connoisseur became somewhat cool. Posterity decidedly favored Cole's pure landscapes, and among his narrative pictures preferred his fairy tale illustrations to the more weighty philosophical compositions.

The year 1833 produced two of these fairy tale pictures. One of them, the *Titan's Goblet*, in the Metropolitan Museum, is well known; the other, the *Maid of the Mist*, has so far escaped attention (Fig. 14). It shows a waterfall from the foam of which a nymph complete with crown and fishtail emerges, a kind of American Lorelei. Cole's *Maid of the Mist* is painted in a much bolder style



FIG 14. — THOMAS COLE. — *The Maid of the Mist*, 1833. — Mrs. L. T. Gager Collection, Washington, D. C.

than the German pictures illustrating folk tales which present a similar subject matter in an equally Romantic spirit. Another waterfall by Cole which has no mythological figures attached to it resembles the work of German Romanticists much more closely (Fig. 15). This painting, in its detailed and linear style, has been compared with the *Schmadribachfall* by Joseph Anton Koch,²³ a member of the German colony in Rome at the time of Cole's Italian sojourn. In fact, the relationship between the two works is so striking that the possibility of an influence cannot be denied altogether. The brushwork of both pictures is miniaturelike, smooth and precise, and their subject matter is given with equal fidelity and

sense of the picturesque.

This brings us to a group of minor painters conveniently called Romantic Realists. Alvin Fisher (1792-1863), a portraitist, painted attractive, unassuming landscapes in a style halfway between Doughty and Durand. Robert Havell (1793-1878), John Neagle (1796-1865), and Henry Inman (1801-1846)²⁴ occasionally practiced a sensitive style of landscape painting in the English tradition. Havell,²⁵ born in England, came from a family of engravers and won fame through

23. WALTER L. NATHAN, *Thomas Cole and the Romantic Landscape*, in: GEORGE BOAS ed., *Romanticism in America*, Baltimore, 1940, pp. 24-62.

24. SWEET, *The Hudson River School*, pp. 41-42, 48-53.

25. "Bulletin of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts," XXIV (1935), pp. 88-90.



FIG. 15. — THOMAS COLE. — Mountain Landscape with Waterfall, 1847 — Museum of Art, Providence, R. I

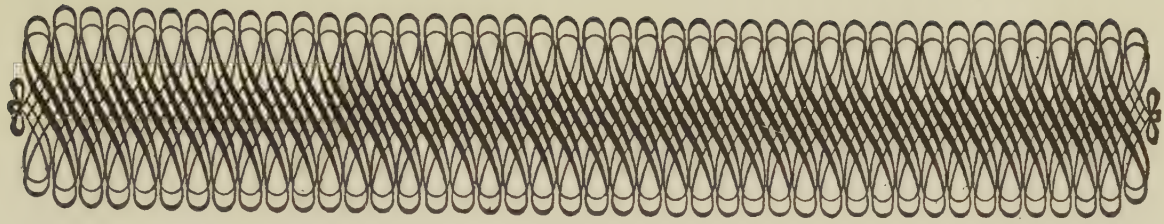
his engravings after Audubon. His oil paintings, most of them Hudson River views, are delicate and meticulous and at the same time distinguished by their unorthodox composition.

Neagle was chiefly a portrait painter and Inman a genre painter. The figures which enliven their landscapes attract more attention by their activities than their size would warrant. Inman's delightful *Picnic in the Catskills* recalls continental painters of middle-class life perhaps even more than the English art with which he had a common background.

There is a painting, *Lieu de Récréation*, by a Swiss "little master," Jean Louis Agasse, painted in 1830 and exhibited three years later in London, which by its motif and its mood reminds us of Inman's somewhat later *Picnic*. Inman, however, did not visit London until 1844, after he had produced this work, and the relationship between the two paintings certainly is not due to the influence of one upon the other but rather to a similarity of the milieu from which they came.

WOLFGANG BORN.





INGRES CEZANNE LA FRESNAYE PICASSO

ON THE DEMARCHE OF THE CREATIVE THOUGHT

“ORIGINALITY in painting is a myth,” said Roger de la Fresnaye. And he added: “One always is influenced. As a follower, one imitates; as an innovator, one again imitates with some modifications; or else one takes the reverse course of that which obsesses you.”¹ The choice of becoming a painter implies the acceptance of sharing in the domain of painting: there one finds predecessors; one has to use their language; and anything that one may do will be related to something which was done before. Henri Matisse once confided to Guillaume Apollinaire: “For my part, I have never avoided the influence of others; I would have considered this as cowardice and as lack of sincerity toward myself.”²

This necessary relation between the creative act and the world of creation is a very French idea. It is through tradition that a French artist becomes aware of expressing himself even if he places himself in opposition to what, around him, is called tradition. In this case, he merely selects the one tradition which he chooses to follow, carving it out, as he pleases, from the immense reality which constitutes the

1. MAURICE RAYNAL, *Anthologie de la Peinture en France de 1906 à Nos Jours*, Paris, 1926, p. 143.

2. “La Phalange,” Dec. 15, 1907.

sum of the created works and existing styles, and thus forming his own school with his familiar masters. Always will his condition be one of dependence.

Of all the great artists representative of the French genius, Roger de la Fresnaye is undoubtedly among those who have most clearly enunciated this theory of originality. In the course of his career, La Fresnaye placed himself successively

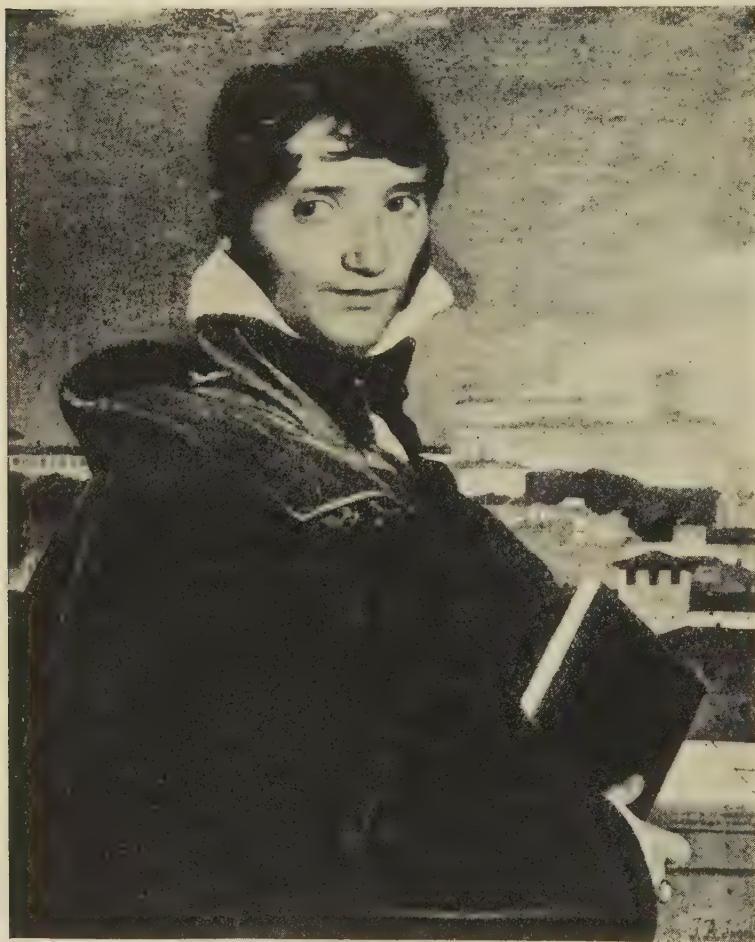


FIG. 1. — J.A.D. INGRES. — Portrait of Granet. — Museum of Aix-en-Provence, France.

under the sign of different masters. There is a most deliberate intention in the date "1820" which he inscribed on a corner of his *Portrait of J. Louis Gampert* (Fig. 2). Did he not thus affirm that he drew his starting point from Ingres? Be it in the vocabulary of Cubist intellectualism, or of Louis-Philippe Romanticism, certain forms recur which are endowed with the same significance and tend toward an identical style. Thus, the curve of *Gampert's* cape corresponds — over the space of a century — to that of the cape of *Granet* (Fig. 1). It may even happen that such professions of faith in one and the same recognized and proclaimed discipline, would not be successive

but produced simultaneously. This was the case with La Fresnaye toward the end of his life. The time when he most definitely submitted himself to the influence of Quattrocento, and when his images of a *Sick Man* — so moving because here the urge for style is merged with the avowal of a personal and tragic reality — recall the *Sick Man* by Mantegna, coincided with the very time when he turned toward the most opposite pole of his plastic culture, and painted his *Tribute to Greco*.

As great and as diverse as was this plastic culture of La Fresnaye embrac-



FIG. 2. — ROGER DE LA FRESNAYE. — Portrait of J. Louis Gampert.



FIG. 3. — ANDREA MANTEGNA. — Judith with the Head of Holofernes and a Servant, drawing. — Uffizi, Florence, Italy.

He dedicated himself to serving that order, and it was toward that order that his various experiences had to converge. Therefore, art appeared to him as a perpetual apprenticeship; art offered him the means for attaining something that he had assigned himself; it was, for him, a mediate activity. And even if these means were not rules, not methods of work, not feats of skill, but the negation of rules or even awkwardness itself, they still were means which had to be learned, known, and understood. Henri Rousseau learned, modestly, the art of Henri Rousseau. The artist is always a disciple. This is what characterizes, in his very sub-

ing the limitless lyricism of El Greco (Fig. 6) and the strict design of the Italians (Figs. 3 and 4), this artist never lost the consciousness of what he wanted to accomplish. These contradictory examples from which he drew his inspiration only tended to build up a logical system in the chronological sequence of his work, for he always thought he would reach a final synthesis. He aspired toward reconciling the opposites, and the history of forms and styles appeared to him as having finally to serve a certain order — an order of which he, La Fresnaye, would perhaps be one of the possible expressions.

For, in fact, La Fresnaye did not regard himself as an end, but as a means.



FIG. 4. — ANDREA MANTEGNA. — Apostles, drawing. — Fogg Museum of Art, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. *Courtesy of the Fogg Museum.*

stance, the classical artist.

* * *

This "something" that the Classical artist assigns himself, is certainly an ideal sufficiently precise for the artist to be able to aspire to it from the beginning of his career. But it also is sufficiently unprecise to serve only as an ultimate goal. There remains always in that *quid* an interrogative intonation. And it is thus between the danger of an *a priori* academism and the danger of the arbitrary and the casual, that all the creative demarche of the Classical artist lies.

That is why we can find in the words and writings of great Classical artists both so much extreme rigidity and so much vacillating confusion. Passionate and obscure were the discourses of Cézanne and Ingres. These artists knew what they wanted as they searched for it. Nevertheless, now that their work is accomplished, and that one perceives, from its various aspects, under what master's egis it has grown, one can discern the shape of what was, from the beginning, desired or at least expected and hoped for.

Cézanne spoke of "making Poussins from nature" or pursued the Olympic and sumptuous dream of the Venetians, or gave himself up, he too, to his own *Tribute to Greco* — for if it is necessary to attain the realization of the great, ideal and Eden-like architecture of a naked humanity in tune with the landscape, one cannot on the other hand resist the temptation of letting these bodies stretch themselves out, dispel themselves in the free light, and make themselves superhuman and spiritualized. In any case it is impossible to understand Cézanne if one does



FIG. 5. — ROGER DE LA FRESNAYE. — Illustration for *Palludes* by André Gide ("Nouvelle Revue Française" edition, 1921), lithograph. Courtesy of the Museum of Modern Art, New York.

not realize that, above all, he assigned himself an ideal task, and that his work consisted of pursuing that task. For him art was not merely the exercise, the application, the exploitation of a gift. That exercise was accompanied by a constant tension of the brain- and will-power.

Such tension involves knowledge of the past. The exercise of this gift is accompanied by the constant presence of the super-real world of painting — of all that was painted before. But the admirable thing is that Cézanne's career began with the rejection of that world, with a clean sweep. Cézanne, Cartesian genius, is the man who started painting afresh. But he did it knowing that he would find painting again. That is to say, he never was a primitive. This humble artist, the most fearful ever to approach the act of painting, was humble and fearful only because of an excess of learning. And learning rewarded him. Indeed, all the possibilities of painting can be found in his work, which includes the arbitrary still life, the landscape first caught on the spot then reconstructed from memory, the

careful and lively portrait, and finally the supreme dream, the human figure combining itself with nature. At the end of his adventure, Cézanne accords himself the right to paint the *Bathers* (Fig. 7).

* * *

Even more strict, more positive, and more lucidly peremptory and resolute, did Jean-Dominique Ingres long to be, from the very beginning of his adventure, when he announced himself the possessor of a truth transmitted to him and which, in turn, he would transmit to others. This truth, of whom did he seek it? The Greeks. But, there was a demon

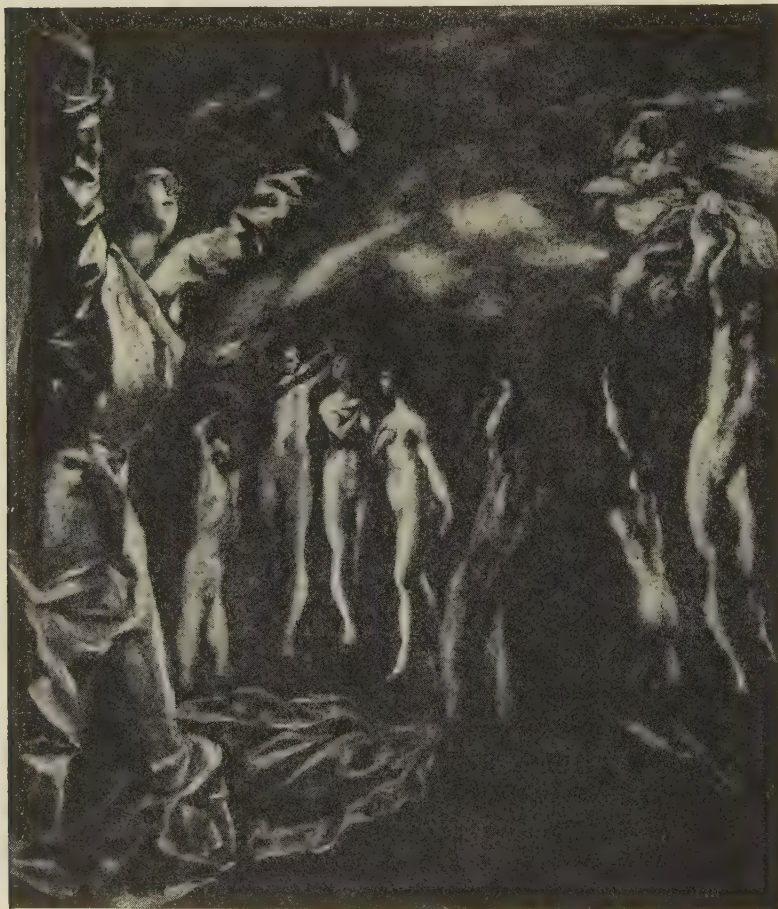


FIG. 6. — EL GRECO. — Apocalypse. — Raf. Vasquez Collection, Madrid.



FIG. 7. — PAUL CÉZANNE. — *The Bathers*. — Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia.
Courtesy of the Philadelphia Museum.

in him which prompted him to look for it elsewhere. For, indeed, this pontiff of Antiquity had nothing in him of an Ancient, but on the contrary, everything of a Modern. He was, in fact, the first of all the Moderns — the most singular, the most bizarre, the most revolutionary. The critics of his time who were scandalized to find a Gothic in him, realized this fully. And Thoré-Burger was not wrong when he suggested that the art of Ingres “had more relationship with the primitive painting of the Oriental peoples than one would think.”³

What characterizes the intimate and organic Ingres contradiction, is that he professed the doctrine of an ideal which was rather close to the “ideal beauty” of which the Academicism of his time was speaking, but actually pursued an entirely different ideal of beauty of which he was only very vaguely conscious, but which was extremely coherent, or which appears to us today as having been extremely coherent, since it is to its expression that we now link the name of Ingres.

3. *Introduction au Salon de 1846 (Les Salons)*, Brussels, 1893, vol. I, p. 245.

Cézanne, throughout his entire oeuvre, was discovering himself. Ingres was inventing himself. And what an invention it was—of a sharp and subtle, meandering and voluptuous universe, made up of Saracenic passion and hieratic archaism! But the terrible despot of Rome and of the Institute never revealed from whence he received the taste that inspired in him such strange images. He did not recognize his own kin.



FIG. 8. — ANDREA MANTEGNA. — Parnassus. — Louvre, Paris.

They are however present in his work, the Primitives, the Persian, the Chinese, and others perhaps more distant and obscure—all responsible for the unwonted perfume that we breathe in his art. Ingres, too, created his own order. He carved himself in his own image, he stamped his name across contradictions and obscurities. He resisted his angel, but his angel was stronger than he; stronger than *Monsieur Ingres*.



FIG. 9. — ANDREA MANTEGNA. — Parnassus. — Louvre, Paris (Detail, see: Fig. 8).

Among the features more or less different from the ideal which he assigned himself, we find again the synthesis of the nude and nature. The classical French genius is fatally obsessed by that goal—one of the most complete that it could assign itself. Ingres does not escape it. He, too, was to make his own *Parnassus* of Mantegna (Figs. 8 and 9), his own *Pastoral Concert* of Giorgione, his own

Poussinesque *Bacchanalia*, his own *Bathers*. It was to be the *Golden Age* (Fig. 10). And the angel whispered into his ear that he should color it with that kind of voluptuousness which he alone dreamed of and knew. Under this prompting, Ingres wrote in his notebooks that he will place in the picture "a lot of beautiful idlers" — delightful formula. But this proceeds from the fact that Ingres' secret



FIG. 10 — J.A.D. INGRES. — *The Golden Age*. — G. L. Winthrop Bequest, Fogg Museum of Art, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. Courtesy of the Fogg Museum.

order and intimate thought did not essentially require that he satisfy the classical ambition of a large composition assembling figures and foliage. And his final answer lies in another composition, more definitely idle — that which he accomplished in his old age and which represents his authentic last will and testament: the *Turkish Bath*. This is because his climate, if any, was not that of the *Parnassus* but that of the secluded and thinking Orient. And he was to find his climate.

* * *

The German metaphysician, George Simmel, imagined two "styles of existence": the systematic style, the productions of which would answer our need for

regularity and symmetry, and the symbol of which could be represented by the figure of the circle; and the progressive style which would, on the contrary, follow the straight line, going on indefinitely and never feeling satisfied with its attainments. The work of the great French Classicists — of Ingres, of Cézanne, of La Fresnaye — would proceed from the systematic style. It tends to close itself up, and present itself as a logical and harmonious sum. And each time that it falls on a given or selected model, it is in order to form — with the help of either borrowing or rejecting — its own homogeneity.

We will pass now to the very opposite extreme of this mental universe and consider, in the art of Picasso, the most marvelous example of the progressive style. The spirit of this artist proceeds along a straight line or, more exactly a series of straight lines — broken lines. He also, civilized being that he is, selects his references, his points of departure or contrast, in the huge repertory of existing styles, but without ever trying to compose from these various inspirations a complete and logical image of himself. This is because he did not undertake his adventure with a preconceived idea of himself. He did not assign himself anything. To him was attributed the phrase: "I do not search, I find." Whether authentic or not, this expresses him deeply. He never looks backward, he never closes the buckle. His course carries him perpetually forward. Each inspiration he chooses or meets — whether that of Toulouse-Lautrec or Ingres (Fig. 11), or of the Negroes — has only the value of a hypothesis, picked up by accident, similar to the combinations which chemists call "experiments to test." And Cubism which, for La Fresnaye, was the supreme form of his order, was for Picasso only one more hypothesis like any other, quite arbitrary, carried to the utmost of its possibilities, and then rejected.

After each of his experiments, the genius of Picasso finds itself completely new, having neither gained nor lost, and ready to enter a new field of investigations. These are not the stages of an ascent or conquest. But they are a number of states, differing from one another and which could have been produced in any other sequence. Time is only one factor among many others in the work of the classical geniuses, and it was a matter of fate that Cézanne achieved his work in the *Bathers* and that old Ingres achieved his in the *Turkish Bath*. I like to think that one could change the chronology of the successive periods of Picasso's art without changing in any way its significance, and that just as art transcends space, so also does it escape the domain of time.

Picasso makes sudden leaps, entering each time a hypothetical universe which would be the realization of what the German philosophers call "*als ob*" — "as if." As if, for example, excluding all other possible forms, the evolution of human plastics would have known, at its source, merely the rules of African art; or as if it would have assigned itself merely the representation of a world without figures, of a strictly metaphysical world. And there he is, in a closed system which he fills

entirely, where he stretches himself out perfectly having brought nothing to it and having nothing to take from it. These successive modes of thought will never become integrated, will never contribute to the formation of what might be — of what according to Classical ethics should be — the whole Picasso, the Picasso truth, the Picasso order. There is no ethical feeling whatever in Picasso because this would require memory. Dwelling outside of the domain of time, Picasso is without memory. In each of the worlds which he has traversed he was Picasso. And Picasso will again be completely himself in another, perhaps final world, but never in the final reconciliation between all these worlds, because in each of them he dies only to be born again in the next.

I said there was no ethical feeling in Picasso. It would be more exact to say that his ethics are of a special kind, and that against the rudimentary ethics of his perpetual disciples — his humble, admiring disciples who are artists of the Classical brand — he places another kind of ethics, en-

tirely Baroque and Spanish and which could be called "heroic." For the hero is without memory and does not try to project himself as the image of a continuous person; he affirms himself only by sudden explosive acts which break the continuity of his personal conscience and in which, precisely, he can forget himself.



FIG. 11. — PABLO PICASSO. — Portrait of Mrs. Georges Wildenstein, drawing, 1918.
Courtesy of Mrs. Georges Wildenstein.

To the classical artisan, art is a world of means. Picasso dreams of adjusting painting to this kind of very rare process of thought which consists in jumping over the means, and which reveals itself only in certain flashing instances of keen scientific—perhaps also religious and mystic—intuition. And even for the mystics themselves there is often technique, practice, method, progress. In any case it is to that form of thought that Picasso's art is related, as is also the art of El Greco.

* * *

Our need for logic and unity, which is satisfied only with the definition of certain things related between themselves—with a certain *quid*, with the name of Cézanne or with that of Ingres—finds itself violently shocked by Picasso: these are unrelated things, it is a succession unclassifiable in time and which we have to assemble under one and the same name. But disorder has no name. Here it bears one, and one which is worthy and irrefutable. It is the effect of a conscience, of an abiding will-power, which pursues its course with an amazing constancy.

How can a conscience which always denies itself to itself be conceived? And how does a thing conceive itself? What meaning has a thought made in such a way that it cannot recognize itself in any of the mirrors in which it is reflected? Throughout their encounter Ingres, Cézanne and La Fresnaye, and many others who could be studied from the same point of view, built their own identity. And it is the imperious predestination of that identity that we admire in them. Baudelaire called this predestination the "Fixed Idea." With what strength the Fixed Idea is manifested in them! For these men, imitation was another way of affirming themselves, as brilliant as contradiction. And it was in accepting the influence of others that, according to Matisse, they were proving themselves sincere.

But this other one who also accepts the same ordeals, he triumphs over them in another way, coming out of them each time with a different visage. He is constantly a different one, and it is just in this that there resides his art, his figure, his style, his Fixed Idea—that which we regard as his fidelity toward himself. But what is this "himself"? How does he stand these breaks? How does Picasso make his peace with Picasso? Here there opens up a problem which, going beyond esthetics to reach the psychological field, would open up for us the most human mysteries of the creative genius. It is no longer a question of relationship between a man and his art, but between a man and himself, consequently of a man who, while he appears as the most extraordinary artist of his time, might ALSO be something else in addition to being an artist. Here we would have to conceive of a type of artist who would be, if not superior, then at least a stranger, to his art or to art.

The relation which we have indicated between the intellectual demarche of Picasso and that of certain scientists or mystics, might perhaps permit us to become more familiar with this idea.

JEAN CASSOU.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

JOHN POPE-HENNESSY.—*Sieneſe Quattrocento Painting*.—Oxford and London, Phaidon Preſſ; New York, Oxford University Preſſ, 1947, 9 x 12, 33 pp., 20 figs., 93 pls.

In his frequent ſurveys of current art periodicals MR. POPE-HENNESSY has ſhown an acquaintance with the whole field of Italian art. His articles on Domenico di Bartolo and his monographs on Sassetta and Giovanni di Paolo prove him particularly well equipped to deal with XV Century Sieneſe painting. In the eſſay which introduces the preſent book he has ſhown himſelf a worthy diſciple of the maſter of all writers in the field, BERNARD BERENSON.

So lucid and comprehensive an appreciation of XV Century Sieneſe painting could not have been compressed into the ſixteen pages of text if the author had not put into practice the theory which all critics preach, namely, that the beſt way to promote an understanding of art is to tempt people to look at it. The twenty illustrations in the text and the ninety-three full-page plates are of excellent quality and reproduce typical works of about a dozen of the moſt important artiſts of the ſchool. The number of paintings is limited in order that many details may be included, and the author has centered his diſcuſſion around the illustrations, rarely mentioning paintings that are not reproduced.

Sassetta, as representing moſt completely the characteristics of XV Century Sieneſe painting, is quite naturally given foremoſt conſideration. Twenty plates are devoted to his paintings. Giovanni di Paolo, the eccentric of the ſchool, is a cloſe ſecond with fifteen plates. One of his paintings, *St. Nicholas of Tolentino Saving a Ship at Sea*, from the Johnson Collection in Philadelphia, is uſed as frontſpiece, to emphasize the ſpontaneity of Sieneſe painters and their unreſtrained improvisation on old themes.

Outside influences upon the Sieneſe ſchool are diſcuſſed chiefly in connection with Domenico di Bartolo, Vecchietta, and Matteo di Giovanni. Large details from paintings by Matteo are cited to ſhow his perſiſtent emphasis upon line even when he was working under the influence of claſſical ſources. That this influence was ſynonymous at the time with the drive toward realism is indicated by the author in the following intereſting obſervation: "Since the XVII Century the claſſical current in European painting has been bound up with a reaction againſt realism. But in the Quattrocento not only was aſſimilation of Antiquity not inconſiſtent with the growth of realism, but it proceeded hand in hand with the development of a naturaliſtic ſtyle."

As a painter, Vecchietta is commonly judged by his more monumental frieſcoes and panels, examples obviously related to his ſculpture. MR. POPE-HENNESSY emphasizes the ſuperiority of Vecchietta's narrative ſtyle, which he illustrates with two miniatures from the *Inferno* and *Purgatorio* of a Dante Codex in the Britiſh

Museum. Theſe illustrations give a pleaſant foretaſte of another book by MR. POPE-HENNESSY, which is being prepared for publication by the Phaidon Preſſ: *A Sieneſe Codex of Dante's Divine Comedy*.

Francesco di Giorgio and Neroccio, each represented by ten or eleven plates, are treated as the terminal artiſts of the century—the one experimenting briefly with painting in the early part of a career devoted to varied purſuits, the other concentrating entirely upon painting, in which he develops a highly finiſhed, perſonal ſtyle. "An artiſt driven in upon himſelf, a Narciſſus analyzing his own image in the pool, his iconography becomes more limited as his ſtyle grows more ſubtle and refined."

One-third of all the plates in the book reproduce paintings in American collections, and nine others were made from paintings once owned by Americans. Poſſibly the author's choice may have been partly determined by a deſire to ſhow the leſs acceſſible examples to his European readers. But we hardly need look for ſuch motives. The fact is that American collections are extraordinarily rich in Sieneſe XV Century paintings, juſt as English collections are extraordinarily rich in paintings of the High Renaiſſance. In the heyday of English collecting—the XVIII and early XIX Centuries—the "grand ſtyle" was in favor and many of its maſterpieces were for ſale. They were eſpecially plentiful at the time of the Revolution in France and Napoleon's oppreſſion of the princely collectors in Italy.

When the turn of American collecting came, in comparatively recent years, an occaſional English ſale was the major ſource of important paintings of the High Renaiſſance. But juſt at that time Italian Primitives were re-diſcovered and a taſte for them was foſtered through the writings of Berenson and his contemporaries. It was eſpecially Sieneſe painting of the XV Century that had been neglected, and as its maſterpieces came on the market, American collectors were the hiſheſt bidders. For a notion of the range and quality of the paintings acquired, it is enough to recall that moſt of Sassetta's exquisite St. Anthony ſeries is in America (three of the panels, from the Kreſſ Collection, in the National Gallery alone); that Giovanni di Paolo's unſurpaſſed ſeries of St. John the Baptiſt is in the Art Inſtitute of Chicago; that his ſcarcely leſs important, though leſs complete, parallel St. John the Baptiſt ſeries, with its rare representation of painted furniture panels in the birth ſcene, went only recently to the National Gallery, London, from the Morgan Collection; that all but one of the eight ſcenes from the back of Sassetta's Borgo San Sepolcro altarpiece, of which the large frontal panel belongs to Mr. Berenson, went to the National Gallery, London, from the Mackay Collection; that Benvenuto di Giovanni's *Adoration of the Magi*, which almoſt vies in ſplendor with Gentile da Fabriano's, is in the Mellon Collection of the National Gallery of Art; that the ſame gallery has acquired, with the Widener

Collection, Neroccio's *Portrait of a Lady*, which Mr. POPE-HENNESSY calls "the most captivating portrait of the XV Century," and, with the Kress Collection, what he terms "perhaps Neroccio's greatest work," the Rapolano altarpiece.

The notes accompanying the plates give all the historical, critical, and iconographical data required by the general reader. In the case of disputed attributions, earlier proposals are usually mentioned though, quite appropriately in a book of this scope, the reasons supporting the various attributions are not discussed.

FERN RUSK SHAPLEY.

OTTO BENESCH. — *Venetian Drawings of the Eighteenth Century in America*. — New York, H. Bittner & Co., 1947, 9¼ x 12¼, 41 pp., 68 ill. (on 56 pp.), 1 front. (Publication date Apr. 28, 1947). \$15.00

It is the author's purpose in this book, as stated in his Preface (p. 5), to publish a selection of XVIII Century Venetian drawings in the United States, many of which have hitherto been unpublished, and a majority of which have been omitted in works by European scholars. Forty-five of the sixty-nine illustrations appear to be reproduced for the first time (from the Catalogue it is difficult to ascertain exact bibliographical data on the individual drawings). Of the twenty-nine Giovanni Battista Tiepolo drawings illustrated, none is contained in BARON VON HADELN's two-volume work on the drawings of this master (p. 15 and fn. 3, p. 15). Thus DR. BENESCH, although publishing in a field which has been well covered in the last few decades, is adding to the corpus of material available to laymen and scholars in this and other countries.

The text is divided into two parts: Introduction and Catalogue. Although the Introduction is brief (p. 7 to p. 24), it is an example of that type of writing which comes from a fullness of knowledge. Long years of familiarity with XVIII Century Venetian drawings have been condensed into a few pages packed with significant information and a valuable stylistic analysis of the period.

In the section, *General Importance*, DR. BENESCH stresses the unique and continuous pictorial tradition of Venetian art from the time of the XV Century, and the fact that "Venetian Baroque art profited from that great tradition, adding new charm and refinement to it" (p. 77). Also he calls to the attention of the reader the fact that the greatness of Venetian Baroque painting is paralleled by the French School as represented by Watteau, Chardin, Boucher and Fragonard. But perhaps more important in this section is the stating of the stylistic theme of the drawings of this period in Venice. "Venetian drawings, in spite of this monochromy, are as saturated with light and atmosphere as Venetian paintings. This quality reaches an unsurpassed height in the XVIII Century. Venetian drawings of the Settecento are often like spinnings from light" (p. 8). Throughout the rest of the text, the catalogue, and the illustrations themselves, it is this quality of Venetian XVIII Century drawings that the author stresses.

The author states in the section, *Meaning and Purpose*, that "The Venetian painter of the Settecento [in contrast with the Venetian painter of the Renaissance]

drew more for the purpose of activating his skill and his imagination, or simply for the purpose of creating a beautiful drawing" (p. 8). Besides this, however, and with reference to specific examples illustrated in the volume, due importance is given to studies, designs and sketches which serve as preparatory material for a finished work of art in another medium.

Media, types of paper, size of drawings, and the possibilities of different effects from the various combinations of these factors are discussed under *Technical Aspects*.

The last and by far the largest division of the text, *The Artistic Personalities*, while covering all the artists represented in the volume features Sebastiano Ricci, Piazzetta, Tiepolo, Canaletto and Guardi. Particularly important is the author's discussion of Giovanni Battista Tiepolo. With all modesty as to the extent of the contribution being made, DR. BENESCH does not avoid the problem of chronology of Tiepolo's works, a problem that has not received its fullest notice even in the volumes of BARON VON HADELN. On the contrary, the author launches into the problem with full, if restrained, force, and from American collections selects drawings which have significance in establishing chronological poles that can be used as stylistic evidence in the dating of drawings having no external indication of date.

The discussion of Francesco Guardi is also worthy of notice. Although the author mentions the problem of chronology of this artist's work (p. 23), it is with Guardi's intuitive style that he is particularly concerned. "Whereas the subject value of an existent or imagined reality . . . prevails in the works of Canaletto, the mode and mood of interpretation seem entirely to determine the content of Francesco Guardi's incomparable creations" (p. 21).

The final section of the text is the Catalogue, arranged in the order of the plates, which in their turn are arranged in chronological order by artist. Preceding the enumeration of the plates of each artist is a brief biographical paragraph giving dates, stylistic predecessors, and sphere of influence of the artist. The entry on each drawing gives title, medium (including the type of paper if other than white paper), size (in metric system only), inscriptions, if any, and the present and former owners of the drawing. This statistical material in most cases is followed by a discussion of the drawing, its relation to paintings and other drawings by the artist, its date, if known, and any distinctive facts or qualities that deserve particular emphasis.

The plates, which follow the catalogue, are of the usual high quality of the Meriden Gravure Company reproductions.

In the opinion of the reviewer the Catalogue is the least successful part of the publication. Granted the book was not intended as a reference work; but in many ways it will become one, and it is a catalogue, particularly of the forty-five hitherto unpublished drawings, that will be of great use to research scholars. Watermarks would be helpful; bibliography as a separate entry would be an improvement. Also the stylistic information on individual drawings often leaves questions unanswered—questions which the author undoubtedly has solved in the course

of preparation of this book if not before—but questions, the answers to which would increase the textual material only a fraction. For example, anyone seriously interested in the drawings of Canaletto will observe that Mr. Scholz's drawing *Imaginary Venetian View* (pl. 51), is almost identical in subject matter to the drawing, formerly in the Henry Oppenheimer Collection, reproduced as plate 11, part IX, of *The Vasari Society Reproductions of Old Master Drawings*. It would have been easy for the author to refer to this other drawing, particularly since Mr. Scholz's drawing is being published apparently for the first time. As a matter of convenience to American readers it would seem advisable to give measurements of drawings in inches as well as in meters. Also, it is unfortunate that the system of giving measurements under the illustrations themselves, as adopted by AGNES MONGAN and PAUL J. SACHS in *Drawings in the Fogg Museum of Art* is not used in more books of this kind.

But these criticisms are of minor technical things. This work was not intended as a complete catalogue of the Venetian XVIII Century drawings in America. Rather it is a selection, chosen mainly from the large drawing collections of the country—a selection to show the scope of the drawings of this period, to demonstrate the range of the major artists, to give some hint of the stylistic development of the "Big Four," and to present drawings of quality which have been omitted from European scholarly writings. This DR. BENESCH has admirably and brilliantly achieved, and the volume is a distinguished addition to the large series of current publications in the field of Old Master Drawings.

ROSS E. TAGGART.

L'Embarquement pour l'île de Cythère, Watteau, Introduction par HÉLÈNE ADHÉMAR, Assistante à la Documentation du Musée du Louvre.—Paris, Le Musée des Chefs d'Oeuvre, 1947, 10¾ x 8¾, n.p., 16 figs. or pls. and 2 color reproductions.

This elegant monograph by MADAME HÉLÈNE ADHÉMAR of one of the masterpieces of Watteau, the *Embarquement pour l'île de Cythère*, speaks highly not only for the author's erudition and scientific training in the history of art, but also for the editorial intelligence and taste of its publishers. Both have been happily served by the material gathered by the Documentation Department of the Louvre. One could hardly have believed that the working file of a strictly scientific art research library would ever come into the hands of any reader not a scholar, student or specialist. However, this is exactly what will happen when this charming picture-book reaches the large public it is bound to attract.

It contains all the comparative material on the painting discussed, with happily laid out and excellent reproductions, not only of paintings, drawings or engravings directly connected with the artist's preparatory work or with the subject matter of the painting, but also of works whose presence in this monograph reveal a truly universal approach to the study of art history. It contains a summarized bibliography, an analysis and history of the painting itself, and a summarized biography of Watteau, with special emphasis throughout the book on

the data pertaining to that painting. And yet, the poetry pervading the subject treated by Watteau seems to be reflected in the text which traces the history of the painting from the time of its creation to its latest publications in a picturesque literary style of great distinction which gives it the lightness and readability of a fascinating tale. The text thus succeeds in concealing the wealth of scholarly material upon which it is based, and this is further accomplished by the gilded type and ornamentation on the cover, as well as by the color reproductions on the cover, on the first page and on a large folded inset plate.

The title of the series to which this popularized but highly scientific monograph belongs is a program in itself—*Le Musée des Chefs d'Oeuvre* (The Museum of Masterpieces). May nothing prevent the realization of this program which would serve to enrich the archives of art literature and place them within the reach of the largest possible public appreciation!

GEORGES WILDENSTEIN.

Bergeret de Grancourt, Voyage d'Italie (1773-1774), avec les Dessins de Fragonard, Introduction et Notes de JACQUES WILHELM, Conservateur-Adjoint du Musée Carnavalet.—Paris, Editions Michel de Romilly, MCMXLVIII, 9½ x 7, 158 pp., XXIII pls.

The history of XVIII Century art collectors and amateurs is inseparable from the history of French art of the same period. French artists of the time benefited greatly from the pride which subtle and intelligent men of taste—who happened to hold some of the country's wealth—took in protecting and sponsoring them. The contribution to the welfare of the arts made by such Maecenas, who followed in the footsteps of the high traditions set by the noble Italian amateurs of the Renaissance, can never be stressed enough.

While the name of Watteau will thus forever be associated with those of Crozat and Julienne, the name of Fragonard remains closely tied to those of the Abbé de Saint Non and Pierre-Jacques-Onésyme Bergeret de Grancourt. Abbé de Saint Non's share in our knowledge of Fragonard's first trip to Italy is on record. Thanks to him, the publication of the long series of Fragonard's impressions of that trip was undertaken in the artist's own time and resulted in the magnificent albums which are too well known to art historians to need any further mention here.

But Fragonard's second trip to Italy did not meet with the same good fortune. Bergeret de Grancourt, on whose oft-denied ancestral nobility M. JACQUES WILHELM insists in his introduction, did nothing in regard to the publication of the undoubtedly numerous drawings and sketches which Fragonard made during the trip on which this ambitious financier invited him. He even had a quarrel with the artist, at the end of the trip, as to the ownership of the drawings. As a result, most of these have disappeared or have not been identified with certainty as belonging to the crop of that trip. However, by leaving us a diary in the form of letters written in the course of the trip, Bergeret de Grancourt not only assured for himself a place in art history but made available to posterity a valuable document on one of the important chapters of Fragonard's art. The first publi-

cation of this diary in 1895 by TORNEZY, is now followed by one which, even though fragmentary, will undoubtedly reach a much wider circle of readers and, at the same time, renew the interest of the specialists.

The able Assistant Curator of the Carnavalet Museum, Paris, who had the excellent idea of going back to this fascinating subject, has made a wide investigation of the Fragonard archives. His Introduction to Bergeret's texts (scrupulously left in their original form, including all the misspellings) in which each and every episode of the Fragonard-Bergeret Italian pilgrimage are revived, is an excellent piece of scholarly discussion presented in a light and pleasing form. Drawings traced to that period are reproduced on good full plates. These contribute to the album-like appearance of this charming volume which even succeeds in overcoming the burden of the explanatory notes and references by having them listed at the end of the book.

We wish there were more publications of this type in which the mine of insufficiently explored, or unknown, or unappreciated documentary art historical material were systematically presented to the public in similarly handsome and popularized, although thoroughly scholarly editions.

French publishers and authors who have recently taken upon themselves this highly educational task have certainly set an example to be followed.

GEORGES WILDENSTEIN.

ALFRED H. BARR, JR.—*Picasso: Fifty Years of His Art.*—New York, The Museum of Modern Art, 1946, 10" x 7½", 314 pp., 322 ill. \$6.00.

HARRIET AND SIDNEY JANIS.—*Picasso: The Recent Years, 1939-1946.*—New York, Doubleday & Company, 1946, 10¾" x 8¾", 211 pp., 135 pls. \$7.50.

MR. BARR modestly asks: "Why another book on Picasso?" and the answer, I should say, after reading his (which is an amplification of his 1936 book on Picasso), is that no one else has produced such a definitive one. MR. BARR has done almost everything that a scholarly author in love with his subject should do—he has produced an encyclopedic, illustrated survey with a wealth of interpretively factual analysis about the pictures, though he disclaims interpretation or general conclusions. Nevertheless, the reader of MR. BARR's book, having so much data, should be able to form his own interpretations and conclusions about Picasso. Here are mine.

As for a sense of beauty, Picasso has it to a marked degree, but has suppressed it. The extraordinarily clever etchings, aquatints, and line drawings marked out milestones of beauty, but Picasso, a born distruster of sensuous beauty in art, although he gave expression to it in his classical period (1917-1923), has turned his back on it. In one sense I like this attitude. It is courageous. It is Spanish. Nothing more befits those of the modern world who have been used to seeing sensuously or to the comforts of the sensuous way of life—the life that is gradually dying on all sides before the eyes of Europeans—than to renounce sensuousness, beauty, and the comforts, and to succor the needy, for in the end the comforts are of little use for taking to the next world.

Picasso has refused to live in just one milieu, seeing one type of subject. He could have been as catered to as Ibn Saud or the Aga Khan. But he preferred to have a sort of universal intensity, non-racial and non-national. JEAN CASSOU calls it the Spanish type of solitude and "profoundly frivolous!"

Picasso's more intense yet aloof way of seeing, appears in all his iconoclastic innovations as far back as the *Demoiselles d'Avignon*, of 1906, though they have been most prevalent in the last fifteen years and characterized by noses drawn in profile upon frontal faces and eyes drawn in full view on profiled faces. In shattering or shocking the sensuous ideals of worldlings, Picasso has done some service, but in his use of different and heterogeneous styles in the same picture, what CASSOU has termed his "successive transformations," he has been confusing.

No one has "timed" these transformations better than MR. BARR. He almost makes you see them come into Picasso's style and sometimes tells you why they came. But of more subtle reasons he leaves the reader innocent. Thus, where CASSOU would stress the appeal of primitivism or Adamism to Picasso and another writer could stress the appeal which Communism as the great laicist movement of today has for revolutionaries and people like Picasso who wish to see everything bitter and realistic, MR. BARR is content to be objective, correct, punctilious, and matter-of-fact. The reader thus gets a sort of fascinating time-table of Picasso's labors and travels, which are, after all, the more immediate *raisons d'être* of his work.

There is another kind of "transformation" in Picasso's work, a subjective one, to which the JANISES in their book are peculiarly alive. "Everyday objects metamorphose into new images, magical, humorous, or poetic. A pitcher takes on the guise of a bird, or, as in this *Still Life* (1945), a lamp becomes a personage—a standing figure of a woman with widely extended elbows. . . . The projecting lever (wick control) cannot be accounted for unless it is a key with which to wind the toylike personage." While there can be a little too much of this—as when the authors say that the configuration of the three drinking-glasses in one of Picasso's *Still Lifes* of 1943 recalls that of the three sleepers in El Greco's *Christ on the Mount of Olives*, in the National Gallery, London—the JANISES in this beautifully produced volume emphasize Picasso's concentration upon masks as well as the double image. After that, one doesn't object to the JANIS phrase "totemic portraiture," though at the phrase "traumatic scars" this reader gagged.

In defense of his double image theory Picasso has murdered the likeness of those who sat to him—*Miss Dora Marr*, *Sabartés*, *His Secretary* (1939 portrait), *Fernande*, and others. To do this has become a mannerism, so that when Picasso inveighs against the gestures of manneristic painters it is the pot calling the kettle black. Notice, however, that when it concerns the portrait of a person he loves or reveres, like *His Daughter*, *His Wife* (1917), *Ambroise Vollard* (1915), *Diaghilev* (1917), or *Stravinsky* (1920), he draws his sitter without impersonalizing or dehumanizing him—this despite the fact that, according to MR. BARR, Picasso had begun "geometrizing

ing" his sitters from way back in 1909.

Confronted with a Picasso portrait such as that of *Man With an All-Day-Sucker* (1938) (BARR, pp. 218-219), one thinks, first: Is this bull-like horror expressive of character or not, probably saying not; and secondly comes the inevitable pun: who is the sucker—the man or Picasso or myself?

To sum up: Where pure form and line in novel combinations are evident, as in the *Acrobat*, 1930, and *Two Women On the Beach*, 1933, a noble and stimulating simplicity is the result. Then, too, the circulating viewpoint has its points, as in the gouache of a *Girl's Head*, 1941, being a crisp and condensed summation. It is not too much, I hope, to see an analogy between what artists like Picasso and Hayter are trying to do, and the development of cyclical form in the symphonic music of Franck and d'Indy, though the latter development came forty to seventy years ago. A more contemporary parallel would be the bitter-sweet classical compositions of Ravel or the primitive sonorities of Prokofiev. Only, the difference is that these musicians placed their intelligent dissonances of orchestration within a framework of beauty. Where Picasso is weak, as in what MR. BARR calls the involved composition of the *Crucifixion* (1930), which to me is a heartless, truncated abstraction, is in his taste. I know that he hates good taste, and—to put it in CASSOU's words—has elevated bad taste to a virtue. But this can be overdone and Picasso has overdone it. The result often is, as LEO STEIN so surely felt, mere silliness.

JAMES W. LANE.

KATHARINE MORRISON MCCLINTON.—*A Handbook of Popular Antiques*.—New York, Random House, 1946, 10 x 7, XII-244 pp., pls., ill.

A Handbook of Popular Antiques will have chiefly a popular value, that is, according to the meaning which the word "popular" is given by the author of this book in her foreword. The antiques under discussion in this book are "popular," she says, "not in the sense that Donald Duck is popular, but in the sense that they are closely related to people. They were made for personal or home use and adornment, and they belonged to the many rather than to the few. As intimate and eloquent souvenir of a closed era, they deserve to be popular among collectors today." It means that the content of this book is devoted to all the objects of minor artistic value, their main interest, however, lying in the fact that they have shared in the life of a people, and as such are part of what, as time goes by, is called by the next generations—the "folk art" or the folklore" of that people.

The author has studied in separate chapters: *Ironstone China; Gaudy Dutch and Welsh, Spatter and Roseware; Tucker China, 1925-1938; Dutch and English Delft Tiles; Staffordshire Cottage Figures; English Lustre of the XIX Century; Pink and Other Light-Toned Staffordshire with American Historical Views; Parian Ware; American Victorian Shaving Mugs; Old Glass Paperweights; Pictures on Glass; American Fancy Glass, Art Glass and Lustres; Glass Slippers, Boots and Shoes; Hats and Old Salts; Buttons; English Painted Enamels; Battersea and Staffordshire; Silver Wine Labels of the XVII and XIX Centuries; Papier-Mache; Pennsylvania Dutch*

and Other American Illuminated Manuscripts and Cut-work; Painted and Lithographed Certificates; American Flower Lithographs; American Cut Silhouettes; American Historical Snuff Boxes; Tinware: Tole, Painted Tin, Pierced and Blocked Tin, Stenciled Ware; Dutch and German Tobacco Boxes; American XIX Century Powder Flasks; Lithophanes; Composition Daguerreotype Cases; XVIII Century English Tea Caddies.

Most of these chapters are illustrated with excellent plates of reproductions, or with drawings by the author scattered all over the text, showing the most characteristic, interesting, valuable, or currently known—that is to say, the most "popular"—objects belonging to each of the mediums discussed in the above chapters. Each of them gives a historic and descriptive sketch of the section of decorative art with which it is concerned. Precious data explaining the initials to be found on the decorative pieces of most current use, will be particularly appreciated. They will serve to identify the authors of the pieces which the collectors have acquired, or may wish to acquire, even for their intrinsic interest and value alone. In fact, the author has gathered very wide material, mostly on unknown, or little-known modest artists responsible for the many decorative works of art which, until now, have had only an anonymous, popular appeal. Each of the chapters is followed by a bibliography of books or articles devoted to the subject therein discussed.

As far as the subject the author chose to study in this book is concerned, the volume shows a definite attempt at serious scholarly research and presentation. And in many cases it may prove helpful to further even the most inquisitive research. However, because of the very purpose which the author assigned herself, namely, "To satisfy . . . specific needs of the collector," and because, as she states herself, "the subjects have been chosen with particular reference to what is available in the shops today," the value of this book will always have to be measured in relation to its own content, and not in relation to the entire subject of what may be considered as "popular antiques."

Nevertheless, it is a helpful contribution to a fascinating section of the decorative arts, the study of which has, moreover, been rather neglected. The sad thing about the study of folklore generally, is that research is usually taken up too late, when the subject is no longer a living matter, when the objects composing it are either too widely scattered to be easily found, or have disappeared altogether. The great merit of this book is that the author has chosen to study a section of contemporary folklore while the objects are still extant in the homes or shops of this country and before their almost inevitable disappearance has made research a too difficult, dull and unrewarding task.

One might wish that more books of this kind were currently devoted to art documents of our contemporaneous life. They would then prepare, just as this book does, valuable ground for research which in the next generations may be attempted by art historians and folklorists. But in the meantime they would be appreciated by the layman or collector interested, as the author herself has been, in a chapter of art which shares in our daily life.

ASSIA R. VISSON.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

DEAR SIR:

I would be very thankful if I were allowed to submit some additional material on the Monstrance of the Cathedral of Santo Domingo attributed to Manuel de Arfe and discussed in my article in the issue dated August 1946 of this review.¹

Since then, there has been discovered on the monstrance a silver mark² which, though it seems to confirm the attribution to the Arfe atelier, again opens up the discussion of this important piece.

The mark shows an encircled *A*, the overdrawn apex of which is doublecrossed above the circle. It is followed by a *burilada*. After a complete reexamination of the monstrance the writer could identify a second mark underneath, on which appears the inscription: (*S*)*evilla*. Both marks differ from other known Arfe marks, Juan de Arfe's as well as Antonio de Arfe's mark consisting of two *A*'s.³

At first I felt inclined to interpret the doublecrossed *A* as Antonio de Arfe (as I pointed out before,⁴ the monstrance of Santo Domingo is definitely akin in many respects to that of Santiago de Compostela). But the provenance from Seville makes it difficult—as far as our present knowledge goes⁵—to associate the piece with Antonio de Arfe, about whom no stay in Seville is recorded, while Manuel de Arfe was actually born in the Andalusian capital.

At the time I studied the monstrance I was unaware of the fact that almost twenty years ago, PROFESSOR ANGULO IÑIGUEZ⁶ had denied the hypothesis originally set forth by FATHER UTRERA, which associates the Dominican monstrance with master Manuel de Arfe. As he was kind enough to inform me, he insists on dating the piece as of the middle of the XVI Century. Dated by me between 1586 (the year in which, according to the documents, the original monstrance of Santo Domingo Cathedral was handed over to Sir Francis Drake) and the first quarter of the XVII Century (when Manuel de Arfe is mentioned in Santo Domingo),⁷ the monstrance would actually constitute a late example of the earlier Arfe's manner of composition,⁸ and would carry certain plateresque details a little further than the deadline normally set for this style.⁹ It should however be remembered that the limit of plateresque production,

though of course pretty generalized, is not absolute and has been surpassed considerably even in Spain, where San Esteban at Salamanca¹⁰ offers an example of how a façade begun in plateresque style continued these tendencies—though slightly modified—up to the first decades of the XVII Century. Moreover, before the Sevillian provenance of the Dominican monstrance became certain, I was under the impression that the piece may possibly have been made in America, where plateresque ornamentation continued into the XVII Century.¹¹

We are thus confronted with a dilemma for which I see no definite solution at present. If we accept the Dominican monstrance as coeval with that of Santiago de Compostela and perhaps even a work of Antonio de Arfe himself, then we have to explain how a very expensive piece of goldsmith work, made by the middle of the XVI Century and surely in the hands of the ecclesiastical institution for which it was ordered, went to the Indies after 1594—the year in which the litigation about a new monstrance intended to replace the one lost to Drake, was still under way in Madrid.¹² It would, however, be rather difficult to imagine a church or a monastery selling its monstrance. Besides, the relatively poor quality of the sculpture of the monstrance of Santo Domingo makes it very hard to accept Antonio de Arfe's authorship; and even if the piece could be a product of Antonio's atelier, we do not know of any workshop of his at Seville. The second possibility is that we accept the existence of plateresque details as late as the end of the XVI or the beginning of the XVII Century. A certain strong archaic flavor of other details of the monstrance would help to support this hypothesis. If the *A* of the mark is really to be read as Arfe, the attribution to Manuel de Arfe would offer an explanation, at least for the moment. We would then have to assume that Manuel de Arfe went to the Indies either to mount his monstrance or to hand it to the chapter of the Dominican metropolitan church.

Thanking you for the hospitality the "Gazette des Beaux-Arts" is granting this note,

I am, dear Sir,

Sincerely yours,

ERWIN WALTER PALM.

1. *A Descendant of the Arfe Family in Spanish America, Manuel de Arfe, and the Monstrance of the Cathedral of Santo Domingo*, pp. 93 sq.

2. I am indebted to the MARQUES DE LOZOYA for allowing me to write about his discovery and its implications.

3. Cf. MARK ROSENBERG, *Der Goldschmiede Merckzeichen*, Frankfurt, 1928, IV, pp. 367-68, marks 9154A and B.

4. Cf. PALM, *Loc. cit.*, p. 99.

5. F. J. SANCHEZ CANTON, *Los Arfes*, Madrid, 1920, pp. 33 sq.

6. DIEGO ANGULO IÑIGUEZ' review of FRAY CIPRIANO DE UTRERA's, *Santo Domingo, Dilucidaciones Historicas*, I, Santo Domingo, 1927; in: "Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología," 1928, pp. 162 sq.

7. *Loc. cit.*, pp. 96 and 98.

8. JUAN DE ARFE's famous *De Varia Comensuración Para la Escultura y Arquitectura* appeared, Seville, 1585; JUAN DE LEON's description of the monstrance of Seville, in 1587.

9. JOSE CAMON AZNAR, *La Arquitectura Plateresca*, Madrid, 1945.

10. *Ibid.*, I, p. 240.

11. Cf. the façades of the late and provincial plateresque group around Lake Patzcuaro (1600-1612), in: ANGULO, *Historia del Arte Hispano Americano*, I, Barcelona-Buenos Aires, 1945, pp. 361 sq.; and the portals of the Merced at Quito (probably after 1596) in: *Ibid.*, pp. 611 sq.

12. Cf. PALM, *Loc. cit.*, p. 96.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

DOROTHY KENT HILL, former Fellow of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, is now Curator of Ancient Art at the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Md. She has written extensively on classical sculpture, pottery and metalwork, and has lectured at the Archeological Institute of America. The "Gazette" has published a number of her articles. In the current issue she studies *Ancient Representations of Herakles as a Baby* page 193

WILLIAM E. SUIDA, contributes to this issue a new iconographic interpretation and historic reconstruction of the altarpiece in the Kress Collection, presently at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C., from now on to be known as *The Altarpiece of Elzbieta Lokietkówna* page 201
A lecturer and professor for more than thirty years at the Universities of Vienna and Graz, in Austria, he is the author of a long series of books and articles. His works on Italian Trecento painting, the art of Titian, that of Leonardo da Vinci, and, generally, the Italian school of painting have established his wide reputation in that field.

A. C. SEWTER is Assistant Curator, Barber Institute, Birmingham, England, and Lecturer in Fine Arts, University of Birmingham. A graduate of London University, he did post-graduate research in art-history at the Courtauld Institute, University of London, under W. G. Constable (1933-1935), was Keeper of Works of Art, Leicester Museum and Art Gallery (1935-1939), and editor of the "Burlington Magazine" (1939-1940). His published works deal mostly with British art, but poetry and music also engage his interest. His article on *A Portrait by Quentin Massys at the Barber Institute, Birmingham* page 209 is one of the first results of the wide research he has undertaken for the purpose of a catalogue of the collections in the Barber Institute.

WOLFGANG BORN, Assistant Professor of History of Art, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, La., is the author of numerous works in the field of art and has been, in the last years, a frequent contributor to the "Gazette." His most recent research was devoted to the field of American art. This resulted in a volume on *American Still Life Painting*. Another volume, on *American Landscape Painting, An Interpretation*, is about to be published by Yale University Press, with whose permission the "Gazette" here presents the chapter of that book entitled: *Sentiment of Nature in American Landscape Painting* page 219

JEAN CASSOU, Conservateur en Chef of the Musée National d'Art Moderne, Paris, has been, for the last twenty years, one of the prominent figures in the world of French arts and letters. Fiction writer and poet (known as Jean Noir in the underground literature which he enriched with several notable works), he has also been closely associated with French artistic life as Assistant Chief Curator of the Luxembourg Museum, as art critic, author and passionate defender of living artists, in whom he believes. Among his recent activities, the series of exhibitions which he organized in his Museum—such as those of the art of Chagall, Permeke, Klee, to be followed by a Marquet retrospective—are particularly noteworthy. And of his published works in the field of the history of art, his volumes on *Greco*, *Picasso* and *Ingres* have a special bearing upon his essay in this issue: *Ingres, Cézanne, La Fresnaye, Picasso: On the Demarche of the Creative Thought* page 239

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is by MRS. FERN RUSK SHAPLEY, Curator of Paintings, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C., MR. ROSS E. TAGGART, Registrar, William Rockhill Nelson Gallery, Kansas City, Mo., MR. JAMES W. LANE, Research Assistant to the Chief Curator, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C., MR. GEORGES WILDENSTEIN, Editor and Publisher of the "Gazette des Beaux-Arts," and MRS. ASSIA R. VISSON, Managing Editor and Secretary to the Council of the "Gazette."

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The Illustration on the cover is: LIPPO VANNI. — Altarpiece of Elzbieta Lokietkówna. — Kress Collection, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (Detail).

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